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THE NOUN PREFIXES OF THE WEST-CENTRAL ZONE OF BANTU LANGUAGES

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The West-Central Zone of Bantu languages covers a group of languages spoken over a wide area of Eastern Angola, the south-west of the Belgian Congo and the west of Northern Rhodesia. So little has been published on the grammar and structure of these languages that they present an almost unworked field in that respect, although some of them have been reduced to writing and used by Missionaries for many years.

In the present article the following languages are considered: Lwena spoken from the South-West Congo to Vila Luso in Angola and south down the Zambesi into Balovale district of Northern Rhodesia with many settlements further south and east in the latter territory; Chokwe spoken from Vila Luso in Angola west into the South-West Congo and northwards in Angola and the Belgian Congo up the Kasai and its tributaries. There are considerable Chokwe settlements in Balovale and adjacent areas of Northern Rhodesia.

Both these languages have already been placed in the West-Central Zone by Doke in his "Outline Grammar of Bantu." Luchazi spoken south of the last two languages in Angola as far as the upper Kwando and with large settlements in Northern Rhodesia. Luchazi is a language with several distinct dialects and in the present survey the language used is that of the Vakwandonge. There are very large settlements of them in Northern Rhodesia. Lwimbi is spoken to the north-west of the Luchazi in Angola: when the

structure of the dialects of Luchazi is better known, this may be regarded as little more than one of them.

Both Luchazi and Lwimbi (together with the dialects of Mbunda and Nkangala) should, in my view, be transferred from the Western group, to a position next to Lwena.

Lunda: This is the Ndembo form of Lunda spoken in the north-west of Northern Rhodesia (Balovale and Mwinilunga) and adjacent areas of Angola and the Katanga. This language likewise occupies a position in the West-Central Zone.

The purpose of the survey is to tabulate the noun classes and their prefixes with comparative notes on their similarities and divergences with reference to the numeration of Meinhof's ur-Bantu classification.

The existing orthography of these languages presents numerous inconsistencies. To avoid confusion I have adopted a single orthography for all five in the paper, based upon that at present in use for Chokwe and Lunda, and written conjunctively.

The nature of the noun classes in these languages requires a preliminary explanation in one respect. In addition to the principal noun classes, animate sub-classes exist subsidiary to many of the principal classes. The peculiarities which distinguish these sub-classes, so far as the prefixes are concerned, are discussed below. But the most marked distinctions are to be found not in the nouns themselves but in their concords. In

all five languages all nouns denoting animates take for the most part the concords of the nouns of class one (1—2 Meinhof), and not the concords of the class to which they by structure belong. The principal exception is to be found in the possessive concords, which vary to some extent among the five languages, and will be considered in a separate study. The term animate sub-class used in the following paragraphs indicates these nouns, which are here defined as nouns structurally referable to one of the main noun classes, but denoting animates and distinguishable from the main class to which they belong, in some instances by their plural prefixes, and always by their concords. Where there is a division of this type in any noun class, the nouns of the main class are always inanimates, all animates falling into the sub-class. Animates include human beings, vertebrate and invertebrate animals (but not plants or trees), and a few exceptions such as words indicating river, moon, etc.

CLASS ONE (MEINHOF 1—2)

In all five languages the singular prefix is *mu-*; the plural is *a-* in Lunda and Chokwe, *va-* in Lwena, Luchazi, Lwimbi. Nouns in this class are invariably human beings.

Lunda: *muntu* (person) *antu*

mukulumpi (elder) *akulumpi*

Chokwe: *mujikulu* (grandchild) *ajikulu*

mwaana (child) *ana*

Lwena: *mutu* (person) *vatu*

mukweze (youth) *vakweze*

Luchazi and Lwimbi: *muntu* (person) *vantu*

mukuluntu (elder) *vakuluntu*.

In all four languages where the noun stem commences in a vowel, the singular prefix modifies to *mw-*, and there is coalescence of vowels in the plural.

Lunda: *mwihwa* (nephew or niece) *eha*

Chokwe: *mwiji* (thief) *aji*

Luchazi, Lwimbi, Lwena: *mwihwa* (nephew or niece) *vehwa*.

Mukulwana (an elder) in Chokwe is frequently found forming its plural *makulwana* (Meinhof class 6).

CLASS TWO (CLASSES 1a—2a)

Nouns included here are all animates, and the greater number of them are kinship terms: others are proper names and the interrogative

noun. Imported words and names of animals, which in other languages often belong to this class, do not do so in any of the languages under discussion, the former being distributed among certain other classes, and the latter all forming sub-classes.

In all five languages these nouns are characterised by the absence of any singular class prefix. The plural prefix is *a-* or *va-*, as in class one. In many Bantu languages these nouns are only distinguishable from class one by the absence of a singular prefix. However, in this group of languages, there are differences in the forms of the possessive concords which make it preferable to treat these nouns as a distinct class. The direct possessive concord singular is *ya-*, not *wa-*, and the corresponding plural concord in Lwimbi and Luchazi *zya-*, not *va-*.

Lunda: *mwizukulu wami* (my grandchild)

but *tata yaChipoya* (Chipoya's father).

Examples of nouns of class two:

Lunda: *mandumi* (maternal uncle) *amandumi*
tata (father) *atata*

Chokwe: *kako* (his grandparent) *akako*

noko (your mother) *anoko*

Lwena: *ise* (his father) *vaise*

yaya (my elder brother) *vayaya*

Luchazi and Lwimbi: *kuku* (my grandparent)
vakuku

tolomweno (my father-in-law) *vatolo-*
mweno.

Lunda: *nyi* (who?) *anyi*

Lwena, Luchazi: *iya* (who?) *veya*

Chokwe: *iya* (who?) *aya*.

CLASS THREE (MEINHOF 3—4)

This class contains two categories: inanimates which follow the normal form of the class, and animates which follow the form of the animate sub-classes as explained above. The singular prefix is *mu-* in all five languages. The plural prefix is *nyi-* in Lunda and *mi-* in the other languages where the noun is inanimate; the animate plural prefixes are discussed below.

Examples of inanimates:

Lunda: *mutundu* (tree) *nyitundu*

mutu (head) *nyitu*

Chokwe: *munangena* (hillock) *minangena*

musele (wire leg-ring) *misele*

- Lwena: *muhinyi* (axe handle) *mihinyi*
muwumbo (lip) *mivumbo*
 Luchazi: *muti* (tree) *miti*
mukandi (stone in fruit) *mikandi*
 Lwimbi: *mutima* (heart) *mitima*
mutanya (midday) *mitanya*.

Where the noun is an animate, the plural prefix in Lunda is normally *anyi-*, though *nyi-* may sometimes be heard in slovenly speech, and especially east of the Lunga river. This is in fact a double prefix, the normal one of class three combined with the plural of class one.

In Chokwe the plural prefix is *mi-* as with the inanimates. In Lwena, Luchazi and Lwimbi the normal plural prefix is *mi-*, but in a few nouns it is *vami-*, i.e. a double prefix formed in the same way as in Lunda. This double prefix in the three latter languages is limited to a few words only, and it is suggested that it may be in fact a relic of a universal double prefix such as is found in Lunda. It only occurs in nouns whose roots have an initial vowel.

Examples:

- Lunda: *mutupa* (lion) *anyitupa*
mwana (child) *anyana*
 Chokwe: *musevu* (monitor lizard) *misevu*
mwananygana (chief) *myananygana*.
 Lwena: *mukoko* (sheep) *mikoko*
mumbwe (jackal) *vamyumbwe*
 Luchazi: *myikondo* (kind of mongoose) *miyikondo*
mwananygana (chief) *vamyanygana*
 Lwimbi: *mwata* (master) *vamyata*.

It will be noted that only in Lunda is the animate sub-class regularly distinguished from the inanimate by its prefix, and then only in the plural.

CLASS FOUR (MEINHOF 5-6)

The singular prefix form here shows some variation in the five languages. Both inanimate and animate nouns occur. In Lunda the usual singular prefix is *i-*, but *dyi-* is found in a few cases. The presence of the *dyi-* prefix does not appear to be explicable by either the presence of an initial vowel in the noun stem or the length of such initial vowel. In view of the fact that the singular concords of this class are in Lunda all formed from the *dyi-* prefix, it is probable that the initial consonant in most of these nouns has been lost recently.

In Lwena, Luchazi and Lwimbi the singular prefix is *li-*, and the concords are formed from it. In Luchazi and Lwimbi a few nouns occur in which there is no prefix, only the root form occurring. In Luchazi the noun *yala* (man) has its prefix in *i-*.

In Chokwe the prefix *li-* occurs, but here the greater number of nouns of this class have lost their singular prefix.

There is no distinction in singular prefix form between animates and inanimates, the distinctions being found only in the concords.

Examples:

- Lunda: *ilanda* (egg), *itala* (house), *dyikwilu* (meat hunger), *ishimi* (wallpost), *ihina* (cloth), *dyisu* (eye), *ilehuka* (kind of fish), *ikwendi* (kind of rat).
 Chokwe: *liso* (eye), *lyonda* (egg), *liji* (word); *kunga* (spear), *hina* (cloth), *lekwa* (cloud).
 Lwena: *lisanga* (egg), *litepa* (riverside garden), *lihina* (cloth), *limbondo* (pelican); *luyga* (man), *pwevo* (woman).
 Luchazi: *liyaki* (egg), *lizo* (tooth), *lisi* (word), *livuli* (knee), *lipato* (domestic duck); *tanga* (cattle kraal), *yala* (man).
 Lwimbi: *liunda* (thick bush); *tangwa* (sun).

The plural prefix for inanimates in all five languages is *ma-*, and also for animates with the following exceptions: (a) In Lunda the animate plural prefix is *ama-* (i.e. a double prefix, cf. class three), though *ma-* is sometimes heard. (b) In Luchazi the plural of *yala* is *vamala*, i.e. also with a double prefix.

Many nouns occur only in the plural form, including certain verbal derivatives in Lunda. Where the noun stem has an initial vowel, coalescence takes place between the prefix and the initial vowel, e.g.

- li-iso* (eye) *ma-iso meso* (Lwena)
li-onda (egg) *ma-onda monda* (Chokwe)
li-izi (word) *ma-izi mezi* (Luchazi).

In some instances it is difficult to tell whether there is a singular prefix or not. E.g. *liji* (word) in Chokwe forms its plural *maliji* which suggests the loss of its singular prefix, but in view of the fact that *liji* comes from the same root as *lizu* and *lizi* it is likely that the initial *li-* is in fact a prefix. So too *limba* (a pig pen) in Lwena and Chokwe

forms its plural *malimba*, but in Luchazi *memba* is also found as the plural. In Lunda the same noun occurs as *idyimba* which seems to indicate that the initial *li-* in this case is not a prefix.

The dropping of the initial prefix cannot be explained by any constant rule. In some cases it may be correlated with the voicing of an unvoiced consonant, e.g. *tanga* in Luchazi and Chokwe as compared with *itanga* in Lunda, but there are many cases where this explanation will not hold. Further study of this phenomenon is desirable.

Examples of plural prefixes:

Lunda: *malanda* (eggs), *matala* (houses), *mahina* (cloths)

mesu (eyes), *mazewu* (teeth), *amakwendi* (rats).

Chokwe: *monda* (eggs), *maliji* (words), *malunga* (men)

mapwo (women), *meso* (eyes), *matangwa* (days).

Lwena: *masanga* (eggs), *matepa* (water-side gardens), *mazo* (teeth)

mapwevo (women), *mambondo* (pelicans), *makolo* (kafir oranges).

Luchazi: *mayaki* (eggs), *mezi* (words), *mema* (water)

mavuli (knees), *makuvi* (vultures), *vamala* (men).

Lwimbi: *matangwa* (days), *mavoko* (arms).

CLASS FIVE (MEINHOF 7-8)

These classes include both inanimates and animates, and in addition class 7 is used in certain special usages discussed below.

The singular noun prefix is *chi-* in all five languages, both for animates and inanimates.

Examples:

Lunda: *chitembi* (skin of animal), *chimbazu* (box), *chisalu* (reed mat), *chisupi* (fool), *chisopi* (weaver bird), *chadyi* (hen).

Chokwe: *chisoka* (round basket), *chishima* (proverb), *chikolo* (doorway), *chihepuke* (fool), *chivukuminya* (heat), *chikafu* (galago).

Lwena: *chitondo* (pole), *chilondo* (bark cloth), *chisalo* (reed mat), *chileya* (fool), *chihe-nyi* (warthog), *chilima* (uncircumcised person).

Luchazi: *chiti* (pole), *chindza* (habit), *china* (hole), *chiheve* (fool), *chimbende* (dwarf), *chiningi* (porcupine).

Lwimbi: *chihuti* (country), *chiyalo* (bed), *chi-ngunduwe* (stony ground).

The plural prefixes for the inanimates are *yi-* in Lunda and Chokwe, *vi-* in Lwena, Lwimbi, Luchazi. The plural prefixes for the animates are *ayi-* in Lunda, otherwise they remain the same as for the inanimates.

Lunda: *yitembi* (skins), *yisalu* (mats);

ayisupi (fools), *ayadyi* (hens).

Chokwe: *yisoka* (baskets), *yishima* (proverbs), *yihepuke* (fools).

Lwena: *vitondo* (poles), *vilondo* (bark cloths), *vileya* (fools).

Luchazi: *viti* (poles), *vina* (holes), *viheve* (fools).

Lwimbi: *vihuti* (countries), *viyalo* (beds).

In Lunda the prefix *chi-* is used in some cases as a plural augmentative to the normal plural of any noun class.

E.g. *Chinyumbu chiyedyi chenza wufuku* (two jackals came last night).

It will be noted here: (a) that the *chi-* has displaced the personal element *a* of *anyumbu*, but not the true class prefix of *mumbu*; (b) that the concords throughout are those of class 7, and the fact that a jackal is animate does not affect the concords of words in concordance with it. This usage in Lunda is particularly common in certain areas. It appears to be partly a colloquialism, as there is no indication that any idea of size is involved, and it is only found in the plural. In all five languages the prefix *chi-* is also found to imply size: e.g. *Zuwo*, a house; *chizuwo*, a big house (Lwena). *Mutundu*, a tree; *chimutundu*, a big tree (Lunda). In such cases the *chi-* is added to the actual noun prefix and not substituted for it.

In Lunda the prefix *chi-* is purely augmentative in this construction; e.g. *chinyitundu*, many or big trees. But in Chokwe the *chi-* changes to *yi-* in the plural, e.g. *chimitondo*, a big tree; *yimitondo*, big trees. In Lwena and Luchazi the plural construction appears to be heard infrequently, and in the plural the *chi-* changes to *vi-*, i.e. assumes the form of a normal plural prefix.

CLASS SIX (MEINHOF 9-10)

This is the nasal group; both inanimates and animates occur in all five languages. The following combinations of the homorganic nasal occur.

mb :

Lunda : *mbamba* (kind of grass), *mbembi* (flying squirrel).

Chokwe : *mbandu* (a wound), *mbalu* (hare).

Lwena : *mbaygo* (meal basket), *mbachi* (tortoise).

Luchazi : *mbuluseta* (snuffbox), *mbambi* (duiker).

nch or *ch* :

Lunda : *nchatu* (tattoo marks), *nchila* (puku).

Chokwe : *chato* (tattoo marks).

Lwena : *chato* (tattoo marks), *chila* (puku).

Luchazi : *nchima* (monkey).

nd :

Lunda : *ndabu* (eyelash), *nduyu* (slave).

Chokwe : *ndako* (custom), *ndungi* (bride).

Lwena : *ndando* (price), *ndalangimbu* (saddle-billed stork).

Luchazi : *ndundzi* (deep part of river), *ndakulo* (palate).

*mf*¹ or *f* :

Lunda : *mfuji* (ant bear), *mfufu* (tinder).

Chokwe } *fwiji* (ringhals snake), *fwenete* (pin).
Lwena }

Luchazi : *fwafwa* (matches).²

ng or *j* :

Lunda : *ngoma* (drum), *ngala* (zebra).

Chokwe : *nguvu* (hippopotamus), *ngaso* (rations).

Lwena : *nganda* (chief's village), *ngombo* (divining apparatus).

Luchazi : *ngendzi* (stranger), *ngandza* (cup).

nj or *j* :

Lunda : *njila* (path), *njiji* (fly).

Chokwe : *njimbu* (axe), *jila* (path).

Lwena : *njamba* (elephant), *jina* (louse).

Luchazi : *njava* (earthenware pot), *njimbu* (axe).

yk, *k* or *ykk* :

Lunda : *ykemu* (flower), *ykaka* (scaly ant-eater)

Chokwe : *kayga* (guineafowl), *kolo* (mole cat).

Lwena : *kala* (crab), *kasa* (albino).

Luchazi : *ykanda* (direction), *yyokwe* (bare-throated francolin).

nl or *l* :

Lunda : *nlomboli* (guide).

Lwena : *lomo* (penis).

¹ Probably this in the denti-labial homorganic compound *nyf* [C.M.D.].

² In Luchazi probably in introduced words only.

Chokwe : *longesi* (teacher).

mp, *p* or *mph* :

Lunda : *mpampi* (male warthog), *mpata* (country).

Chokwe : *pembe* (goat), *poko* (knife).

Lwena : *panya* (hernia), *pako* (hole in tree).

Luchazi : *mpwevo* (woman), *mpumputa* (dust).

Lwimbi : *mphwevo* (woman).

ns, *nts* or *s* :¹

Lunda : *nsalafu* (red ant), *nsayilu* (confluence of river).

Chokwe : *sego* (horn), *sonde* (red ant).

Lwena : *sefu* (eland), *sela* (beeswax).

Luchazi : *ntsiva* (horn), *ntsi* (fish).

nt, *t*, *nth* or *th* :

Lunda : *ntadyi* (dispute), *ntoka* (mamba).

Chokwe : *tumbi* (rat), *tunda* (dry land).

Lwena : *tamba* (sweet potato), *temo* (flower).

Luchazi : *ntatu* (monitor lizard), *ntanga* (cloth).

Lwimbi : *thendo* (scorn), *nthanga* (cloth).

mv, *nv* or *v* :

Lunda : *mvudyi* (situtunga), *nvula* (rain).

Chokwe } *vula* (rain), *vuli* (situtunga).
Lwena }

ny :

Lunda : *nyakayankata* (mantis), *nyimu* (ground-nut).

Chokwe : *nyali* (brother-in-law), *nyembu* (gift).

Lwena : *nyama* (meat), *nyange* (cattle egret).

Luchazi : *nyeygo* (disgust), *nyamusu* (girl at puberty).

nz, *ndz* or *z* :

Lunda : *nzala* (hunger), *nzovu* (elephant).

Lwena : *zala* (hunger), *zaji* (lightning).

Chokwe : *zala* (hunger), *zalilo* (waist).

Luchazi : *ndzoxi* (dream), *ndzandu* (flea).

It will be noted that 14 combinations of consonants occur with the homorganic nasal. In Lunda the homorganic nasal is always present: in Luchazi it is present except where the nasal is followed by *f*. The nasal followed by *f* is probably absent in Luchazi as *f* is commonly replaced by *ts* in that language and the only examples of *f* are probably importations. Lwimbi follows Luchazi, and the only examples quoted are where an aspirate is present which is not found in Luchazi. In Lwena and Chokwe the homorganic

¹ Including *sh*.

² Probably *mv* and *nv* are both interpretations of the denti-labial nasal compound *nyv* [C.M.D.].

nasal does not appear before *ch, f, k, l, p, s, t, v* or *z*, but only in the combinations *mb, nd, ng, nj* and *ny*.

In Lunda the nasal before *g* results normally in the velar nasal, whilst in the other three languages the velar nasal accompanies *g*, as it does rarely in Lunda.

The singulars of these nouns show no variation between animates and inanimates, but in the concords the animates take those characteristic of the animate sub-classes. In the plurals the following are the prefixes found:—

Inanimates: Lunda and Chokwe have no distinctive prefix, but retain the singular form, or occasionally prefix *ji-*; Lwena *ji-*; Luchazi and Lwimbi *zi-*.

Animates: Lunda *a-*; Chokwe same as singular; Lwena and Luchazi *va-*:

Lunda: *nyoma* (drums), *jinchatu* (tattoo marks); *anjiji* (flies), *anzovu* (elephants).

Lwena: *jindando* (prices), *jipako* (holes); *vakanga* (guinea fowl), *vasefu* (eland).

Chokwe: *poko* (knives), *njimbundu* (axes); *tumbi* (rats), *nguvu* (hippopotami).

Luchazi: *zintsiva* (horns), *zingandza* (cups); *vantsi* (fish), *vangendzi* (strangers).

Lwimbi: *zinthanga* (cloths), *zinkhole* (enmities).

CLASS SEVEN (MEINHOF CLASS 11: PLURALS AS FOR 10)

In all five languages the singular prefix is *lu-*, changing to *lw-* where the noun stem has an initial vowel.

Lunda: *luduru* (heart), *lukayalu* (lath), *lupula* (wing).

Chokwe: *lupachi* (rib), *lumbimbo* (thorn).

Lwena: *lungoji* (bark rope), *luholo* (forehead).

Luchazi: *luntsumo* (cupping horn), *lwondzi* (bark rope).

Lwimbi: *luhande* (talking), *lumbimbo* (thorn).

Animates are rare in this class; the only ones noted being in Luchazi, viz: *luwvakiti* (caracal) and *luhavo* (the female of the smaller species of antelope, goat or sheep); and in Chokwe, viz: *lushi* (a large species of snake).

In Lunda the plurals of these nouns are sometimes formed by *n-* or *jini-* or *m-* or *jim-* before *b, f* or *p* or they may be irregular; in some cases there is no change from the singular; e.g. *nykanyu*

(laths), *nykanu* (crowning bracelets); *jimbavu* or *mbavu* (ribs), *mapula* (wings); *lwahu* (sifting baskets).

In Chokwe the plural is normally prefixless, but where there is an initial *lw-*, the plural prefix is *ng-*. In a few cases the singular prefix is retained; e.g. *pachi* (ribs), *mbimbo* (thorns); *ngalo* (sifting baskets) from singular *lualo*; *lushi* (large snakes).

In Lwena the plural prefix is *ji-*, and in Luchazi and Lwimbi *zi-*.

Lwena: *jingoji* (bark rope), *jingano* (hoof prints). Luchazi: *zyondzi* (bark rope), *zimbongo* (money). Lwimbi: *zimbimbo* (thorns), *vampavo*¹ (female buck).

Here also are certain exceptions. *Lwalo* in Lwena forms its plural *jikwalo*, and *lujivwi* (a grey hair) its plural *jivwi*.

A special case of the prefix *lu-* is found in all five languages as an augmentative prefixed to the normal prefix.

Lunda: *luyombi* (a big ox).

Lwena: *luzuvoo* (a big house).

Chokwe: *lumutondo* (a big tree).

In Lunda the usual plural form is *ji-* and the noun loses its normal plural prefix, e.g. *jijombi*. In Chokwe the plurals are taken from class six and are additional to the true class plural, e.g. *yimitondo*. In Lwena and Luchazi the plurals are in *ji-* and *zi-* respectively, and may be additional to or replace the true plural prefix.

CLASS EIGHT (MEINHOF 12—13)

This occurs in all five languages, and includes both animates and inanimates. The singular prefix is *ka-* throughout, and animates are not separable in the singular except by concord differences.

Lunda: *kanwa* (mouth), *kawa* (dog), *kabola* (locust).

Chokwe: *kanunu* (thousand), *kawa* (dog), *kandaka* (stranger).

Lwena: *kalenye* (fishing net), *kawa* (dog), *kasumbi* (fowl).

Luchazi: *kantsuki* (hiccough), *kasongo* (servant), *kaswa* (flying ant).

Lwimbi: *kansitu* (animal).

The normal plural prefix is *tu-* for all inanimates; where the noun is animate, Lunda uses the normal

¹ Note the form of the plural of *luhavo*.

disyllabic type of prefix, viz. *atu-*. In Lwena animates have the same plural prefix as inanimates except for monosyllabic stems which take a disyllabic plural prefix in *vatu-*. In Chokwe all plurals are formed in *tu-* irrespective of the number of syllables in the stem. In Luchazi and Lwimbi plurals are formed normally in *tu-*, but may be found in *vatu-* as a variant, irrespective of the number of syllables in the stem.

Lunda: *tunwa* ; *atuwa*, *atubola*.

Chokwe: *tununu* ; *tuwa*, *tundaka*.

Lwena: *tulejge* ; *vatuwa*, *tusumbi*.

Luchazi: *tuntsuki* ; *tusongo*, *tuswa*.

Two special uses of these prefixes are to be noted:

(1) *Ka-* used as a diminutive. In this case it is often an additional prefix, e.g. *kampembi* (Lunda), a little goat. Where in Lunda the noun class begins in *i-*, the added *ka-* results in the insertion of the *dy* between the vowels, e.g. house, *itala* > little house, *kadyitala* ; houses, *matala* > little houses, *tumatala*.

In other cases the use of *ka-* as a diminutive may result in replacement of the true noun prefix by *ka-*, e.g. *litemo*, a hoe (Lwena) > *katemo*, a little hoe.

An unusual example of the diminutive *ka-* and augmentative *lu-* is found in *tukwana*, good-for-nothing little children (Lunda or Chokwe).

(2) In all five languages the prefix *ka-* is used as tribal prefix, e.g. *Kakwena* (a Lwena), *Vakwena* ; *Kachokwe* (a Chokwe), *Achokwe*.

This is purely a singular prefix. In the plural the noun is essentially one of class 2.

CLASS NINE (MEINHOF CLASS 14 WITH PLURAL IN CLASS 6)

The singular prefix is *wu-* (Lwena, Chokwe, Lunda), *vu-* (Luchazi) *vu-* or *wu-* (Lwimbi); plural *ma-*. This includes sundry collective nouns, many abstracts and a few miscellaneous. There are no animates in this class.

Lunda: *wakwa* (beer), *wina* (hole), *wanta* (chieftainship).

Chokwe: *wynga* (flour), *wynuke* (boyhood), *wukwa* (jealousy).

Lwena: *wuta* (gun), *wuchi* (honey), *wufuku* (night).

Luchazi: *vwato* (boat), *vusa* (meanness), *vulo* (marriage).

Lwimbi: *vuki* (honey), *wanda* (cotton), *wato* (boat).

Coalescence takes place where the root of the noun has an initial vowel.

Examples of plurals:

Lunda: *mawakwa*, *mena*, *mawanta*.

Lwena: *mata*, *maswa* (nests) *mawuta* (guns).

Luchazi: *mato*, *mavulo*.

It will be noted that the singular noun prefix is more often not lost in the plural. In some cases it may or may not be dropped at random; e.g. *watu* (boat), plural *matu* or *mawatu* in Lunda.

The singular prefix in Luchazi is of interest by reason of the presence of a fricative *v* before the *u-*, but in Lwimbi both the more normal prefix and the fricative *v-* are found according to the noun.

Many nouns of this class do not occur in the plural, being by their nature only used in the singular.

CLASS TEN (CLASS 15 MEINHOF)

The prefix is *ku-* forming verb infinitives used as nouns.

Lunda: *kwiya* (theft), *kutama* (badness).

Chokwe: *kupwa* (condition), *kusuhwa* (length).

Lwena: *kufwa* (death), *kwivwa* (hearing).

Luchazi: *kutsa* (death), *kulaha* (length).

Lwimbi: *kuthantekeya* (knowing), *kutza* (death).

In the languages under consideration the verb infinitives do not exist in a negative form, though they may be found with objective concords or the reflexive prefix, e.g. Lwena: *kulizanga* (mutual liking).

CLASS ELEVEN (CLASS 15a)

Nouns with prefix *ku-* forming a plural in class 6. Doke describes this as a remnant class for parts of the body. The only language of the five in which it occurs is Chokwe; viz. *kulu* (leg), *molu* (legs); *kwoko* (arm), *moko* (arms); *twitwi* (ear), *matwi* (ears).

In recording these nouns as examples of class 15a, I do so with a little hesitation for the following reasons:

(a) The concords are not those of class 15 but those of class 5 in the singular, e.g. *kwoko lyenyi lisuku* (his long arm).

(b) In Chokwe it is well known that many nouns of class 5 are prefixless, therefore the

resemblance to class 15a may be fortuitous and merely due to a root in *ku-*. This however is negated by the fact that the *ku-* is lost when the plural *ma-* is added; whereas a Chokwe noun like *kupu* or *kunga* adds the *ma-* of the plural to the stem without losing the *ku-*.

(c) *Twitwi* (an ear) in Chokwe (plural *matwi*) may likewise belong here. The singular con- cords are as in class 5. Again there is doubt because *litwitwi* in Lwena and Luchazi are normal class 5 nouns in the singular.

CLASS TWELVE. (MEINHOF 16, 17, 18)

These are the locative classes which in all five languages take the forms *ha-*, *ku-* and *mu-*.

Ha- indicates on or at a place or thing.

Ku- indicates motion to or from, or position at a distance.

Mu- indicates inside, or motion involving going out or entering, removing or inserting.

* * *

The above survey shows, it is believed, the fundamental similarity between the five languages under consideration. The following features appear to be worthy of note.

1. The presence of animate sub-classes in all five languages existing side by side with inanimate main classes. Only in Lunda are these animate nouns regularly distinguished by prefix form, and

then only in the plural. The disyllabic animate plural prefix in Lunda, and in other languages of the group, where it occurs, is actually a double prefix.

2. The variation of the singular prefix of class 4 (Meinhof 5) is noteworthy and there is scope for further investigation of the tendency to lose the singular prefix here.

3. The nasal nouns are of interest in that Lunda, Lwimbi and Luchazi preserve the homorganic nasal throughout, whilst in a large number of these nouns in Lwena and Chokwe the homorganic nasal does not occur.

4. The plural prefix in *yg* in Chokwe with nouns having their singular prefix *lu-* modified to *lw-* before an initial vowel is interesting, and quite different from any of the other four languages.

5. In Chokwe alone there are traces of class 15a; and if the nouns so assigned are correctly allocated, they present some irregular features, as described above.

6. Attention is drawn to the presence of a bilabial consonant in the plurals of class one and two in Lwena, Lwimbi and Luchazi, and the fact that in Luchazi the bilabial consonant occurs in the singular of class nine. In this latter instance Lwimbi bridges the gap between Luchazi and the other languages since it uses both *wu-* and the bilabial consonant.

SOME RECENT LITERARY PUBLICATIONS IN LANGUAGES OF THE SOTHO GROUP

G. L. LETELE

In this article it is intended to list the purely literary publications in the languages of the Sotho group which have appeared during the period 1939-1943, and to review briefly such of these publications as have not already been reviewed in this journal or in its predecessor, *Bantu Studies*.

This article thus forms a complement to that by Prof. G. P. Lestrade in Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 22-27 of this journal, dealing with publications of a linguistic nature bearing on one or other of these same languages.

The author wishes to express his thanks to Prof. Lestrade for help in compiling the bibliographical part of the present article, as well as for revising the draft MS. and making a number of valuable suggestions as to its final form; and also to Mr. A. C. Jordan for his valuable criticism of some of the works reviewed here.

The publications which have to be listed are the following:—

A. TSWANA

1. D. P. Moloto: *Mokwena*. Nasionale Pers. 204 pp.
2. I. Schapera (ed): *Ditirafaló tsa Merafê ya Batswana*. (1940) Lovedale Press. 76 pp.
3. Shakespeare-Plaatje-Lestrade: *Dintshontšho tsa Bo-Juliuse Kesara*. (1942) war-time reprint, slightly revised. University of the Witwatersrand.

B. NORTHERN SOTHO

1. G. H. Franz: *Maaberone*. Nasionale Pers. (1940) 36 pp. 1s. 3d.
2. E. K. K. Matlala: *Thšukudu*. Nasionale Pers. (1941) 92 pp.
3. Moses Madiba: *Tsiri*. van Schaik. (1942) 40 pp. 1s. 5d.
4. A. Phalane: *Motangtang*. van Schaik. (1943) 74 pp. 2s. 2d.
5. M. M. Schlodimela: *Moélélwa*. Nasionale Pers. (1940) 43 pp. 1s.

6. J. I. Serote: *Molato*. Nasionale Pers. (1943) 30 pp. 1s. 6d.
7. C. Hoffmann: *Mebušó*. Nasionale Pers. (1941) 117 pp. 2s. 3d.
8. S. M. Mphahlélé and S. M. Phaladi: *Ba-xa-Mphahlélé*. Nasionale Pers. (1942) 84 pp. 1s. 9d.

C. SOUTHERN SOTHO

1. E. Motsamai Leoatle: *Morena Moshoeshoe Mor'a Mokhachane*. Morija. (1942) 84 pp.
2. H. E. Mabile: *Mokhosi oa Fora*. Morija. (1940) 166 pp.
3. T. M. Mofokeng: *Sek'ona ša Joala*. Morija. (1939).
4. A. Nqheku: *Lilahloane*. Mazenod. 64 pp. 9d.
5. A. Nqheku: *Arola Naheng ea Maburu*. Mazenod. 9d.
6. C. R. Moikangoa: *Sebogoli ša Ntsoana-Tsatsi*. Mazenod. (1943) 94 pp. 2s. 9d.
7. H. E. Jankie: *Lithoko tsa Makoloane*. Morija. (1939)
8. George Lerotholi: *Lithoko tsà Morena e Moholo Seeiso Griffith*. Morija. (1940). 29 pp. 9d.
9. Adam J. Selane: *Letlotlo la Mosotho*. Nasionale Pers. (1942) 35 pp.
10. Father Laydevant: *Bophelo ba Morena N. G. Lerotholi*. Mazenod. 1944. 1s. 6d.

The following reviews are grouped according to the subject-matter of the books dealt with. Not all the books listed above are treated of, it has proved impossible for the reviewer to obtain copies of *Arola Naheng ea Maburu* and of *Bophelo ba Morena N. G. Lerotholi*.

A. POETRY:

1. *Lithoko tsa Morena e Moholo Seeiso Griffith* (by George Lerotholi).

The praises of the late Paramount Chief Seeiso, as given in this book, are in no way different from the typical Southern Sotho praise-poems as

found, for instance, in Mangoela's collection *Lithoko tsa Marena a Basotho*. However, one has a much better chance of appreciating and understanding Seeiso's praises, the reason being that many people acquainted with Basutoland still understand most of the allusions in Seeiso's praise-poems, whereas very few of the present generation know the events referred to in most of the praises of earlier chiefs and heroes, as found in Mangoela's collection.

It is imperative that the writer of Seeiso's *Lithoko*—or some competent person—should annotate these praises before the allusions in them are completely forgotten, as is practically the case with most of the praises in *Lithoko tsa Marena a Basotho*.

Furthermore, such praises as these of Seeiso are full of very interesting figures of speech and other poetic embellishments, but as these are not always appreciated by the average Sotho speaker of the present generation, especially those who are less in contact with Sotho tribal life, it would make all the difference if explanatory notes were added to help the reader to appreciate the finer points of Sotho poetry.

2. *Lithoko tsa Makoloane* (by H. E. Jankie). This is a collection of praise-verses which are usually recited by young men on the occasion of their coming out of initiation school. The reviewer here refers to them as a collection of verses because they are merely verses put one after the other with no unity of theme or any other factor which relates them to one another. The collector has made no attempt to arrange the verses in such a way as to show that any two are related and/or are part of a single praise-poem. All we have to go on is the appearance of the name *Lefeta* in nearly all these verses, suggesting that they are the praises of one person bearing this name, and constituting the single praise-poem or praise-cycle of *Lefeta*.

The verses are typical of the praises these young men recite on such occasions. They are the efforts of one who is not necessarily gifted in any sense as a poet, nor do they necessarily refer to events and exploits which actually took place. The collector himself suggests in the short preface that the praises are all imaginary accounts of

things the composers have never themselves experienced. Consequently they lack consistency; the composer compares himself with each and everything which, he imagines, has virtue; in many cases he borrows ideas and whole phrases from the praises of other people.

The collector has not annotated these praises—it is questionable whether annotation would have been possible here, since the events referred to are not real, and since in many cases the composer has borrowed phrases whose real meaning he himself may not have understood. It would have been useful, nevertheless, if the collector had written notes to help the reader to appreciate the figures of speech and other poetic devices; he might also have given a brief explanation regarding the method of reciting these praises, which is usually different from the ordinary way of reciting Sotho poetry.

3. *Letlotlo la Mosotho* (by Adam J. Selane). Since Bereng's *Lithothokiso* this is the only collection of Sotho poems written on a variety of themes. Selane has, in this collection, attempted to write poetry on a variety of subjects, such as *Lehlabula* (Summer), *Sefako* (a hail-storm), *Sefofane* (the aeroplane), *Moratuoa* (the beloved one), to mention but a few. The bulk of Sotho poetry consists of praise-poems whose theme is almost invariably the praises of some hero or chief. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that Bereng's experiments, introducing a variety of subjects into Sotho poetry, have opened up a new line of literary development in the language.

In standard, however, the poetry of *Letlotlo la Mosotho* is not comparable to that of Bereng's *Lithothokiso*; it rather approaches that of Mafoyane's similar attempt in Tswana, *Moretlo*. It cannot be said that Selane shows real ability as a poet. Furthermore, there are several defects in the language as such, besides the unduly numerous mistakes of a purely orthographical and typographical nature.

4. *Thšukudu* (see also under *Drama*). Regarding the poetic value of Matlala's verse in *Thšukudu*, the only remark we need make here is that it too, like other praise-poems, is full of obscure allusions which have to be explained if they

are to be understood. Notes and annotations are needed.

B. *DRAMA* :

1. *Sek'ona sa Joala* (by T. M. Mofokeng). This is the only Southern Sotho publication which has been written primarily for the stage. As such, it is a good beginning ; the writer has given special attention to stage direction, and the play is one which can easily be produced on the average school stage anywhere.

The play is divided into sixteen scenes ; but this is unnecessary, as there are many of these, e.g. the second and third, that could have been merged together. The writer seems to have had in mind chapters rather than scenes in the technical sense.

The plot is as follows. A marriage contract has been entered into by Seobi on behalf of his son, Phephei, and Lefaisa on behalf of his daughter Keneuoe. Phephei has been away and has not met the girl he intends to marry. Just about the time of his return from *Sekhooeng* a quarrel arises between Seobi and Lefaisa due to the fact that Lefaisa, for no apparent reason, upsets the drinking-vessel (*sek'ona*) in Seobi's hands just as he is about to drink beer out of it. Seobi takes a serious view of this, especially when Lefaisa refuses to give any reason for his action. The engagement is thus broken. This is the state of affairs when Phephei reaches home. When his sister and mother try to expostulate with Seobi, Phephei is turned out of the house.

He leaves home ostensibly to return to the mines, but actually in order to find time to disguise himself as a witch-doctor and return to his people so as to probe the mystery of the *Sek'ona sa joala*. For many days he lives under the same roof as his fiancée who, however, does not recognise him : she is, nevertheless, much attracted to him, and he lends her manuscripts of his.

Meanwhile his investigations lead him to suspect Morongoe, a minor wife of Seobi. Disguised as a doctor, Phephei is able to terrorise her into confessing that she had poisoned the beer Seobi was about to drink when Lefaisa knocked it out of his hands. Her motive in this attempted murder, she says, was to spite his other wife whom he loved more than he loved her.

The mystery thus solved, Phephei brings together the parties concerned to the reconciliation, after which he invites them to dinner. At this dinner he appears undisguised, and this ending is virtually the re-engagement of Phephei to Keneuoe.

The place in which the drama is enacted is a Sotho village of the modern type, in touch with western ideas and modes of living. Phephei has been to school, is a writer, and has been to *Se-khooeng*. Keneuoe and Lirontšo have also been to training colleges. Both the chief characters are enlightened enough to find it difficult to accept unquestioningly all the beliefs and customs of their people.

The plot itself has obvious weaknesses. It seems doubtful that Phephei should have disguised himself so successfully from people who knew him so well, including his own mother. Again, when we ultimately learn that Lefaisa's motive in upsetting the *sek'ona* was to save Seobi, we naturally wonder why Lefaisa does not realise that if he merely upsets the vessel and does not expose the villain the latter may make another attempt.

Incidentally Lefaisa's refusal to give a reason for his action has been the chief source of interest so far : not only does it keep us guessing, but it also leads Seobi to the conclusion that Lefaisa is merely trying to find an excuse to break the engagement since Phephei, after all, is the son of a heathen father.

There are hardly any interesting characters. In fact, individuality is lacking. Perhaps the only interesting aspects of characterisation are Phephei's resourcefulness and Morongoe's passion. As a result, the scene in which these two appear together is easily the liveliest. The subsequent scenes are very unnatural : the revelation of the villainy provokes nothing more than mere moralising on the part of the intended victim ; and the laying aside of the hero's disguise leaves us rather cold.

The play is written in good prose ; and the writer has not tried to avoid borrowed words such as *aubuti*, *sisi*, *soare*, *miss*, etc., which are, in such communities, an accepted part of the vocabulary of the younger set of people.

2. *Maaberone* (by G. H. Franz). *Maaberone* and Matlala's *Thšukudu* are the only two dramas written in Northern Sotho. *Maaberone* is a light tragedy in four acts, written in prose. Like Mofokeng's *Sek'ona sa Joala*, it is written with an eye to the stage. It should make a suitable play for production by a school.

The plot is as follows. Maaberone, daughter of Masemola, refuses to marry Sekwala, the man chosen for her: he is an old man who already has six wives, and she abhors him. Coercion fails: she turns to Mašilo, son of her father's enemy, Leepile, and they run away together. In the meantime the men meet at the *kxóro* to decide how to help Masemola handle a disobedient daughter. Before agreement is reached it is reported that Maaberone has fled, and Leepile promptly sends a band of young men after her. Later a second report comes to say that Mašilo has fled with her; so Leepile sends out another band to prevent the first one from doing harm to the fleeing couple.

When the first band overtakes the fugitives a fight ensues in which Mašilo acquits himself bravely and would probably have beaten back his pursuers if the second band had not appeared just then. Maaberone, on seeing the latter, gives up hope of escape and hurls herself over the precipice. Mašilo follows suit; and there the action ends.

The impression one gets after reading this play is that the writer has cheated his readers of the thrill he leads them to expect in the unravelling of the plot. Maaberone's defiance of her father's orders to marry a man she dislikes makes the reader anxious to see how far he, Masemola, is prepared to go in coercing his daughter and, how far she means to go in resisting him. When he appeals to the men we notice that they are not wholly sympathetic—some seem to feel that it would be a bad precedent for a girl to defy her parents in such a matter and get away with it. Again one anxiously awaits their next move. An added point of interest arises from the enmity between Masemola and Leepile. It is obvious that Leepile regards this situation as an opportunity to spite his enemy, and it looks as if he is

already gloating over the punishment he will give the girl when she is recaptured. The fact that he later discovers that any drastic punishment he intends to visit upon Maaberone would involve his own son only makes the situation more exciting to the reader.

But while one anxiously awaits this climax, the story suddenly ends as the hero and the heroine hurl themselves over the precipice. The writer has decided to cut the knot which he apparently fears he cannot untie.

A second weakness in this plot is the absence of a clear enough background to help the reader to appreciate some of the incidents. For instance there is nothing to show that there was any love between Maaberone and Mašilo strong enough to make the latter go the length he went in aiding Maaberone's escape.

The story, however, has the makings of what might be developed into a great tragedy. As in the case of Mofokeng's *Sek'ona sa Joala*, here too one is made aware of the conflict between the conservative authority of custom and the wishes of the younger generation in such communities. Here too parents allow their personal quarrels to wreck the hopes of their children; and the children are always torn between duty and obedience to their parents on the one hand, and a desire to follow their own wishes on the other.

The writer has chosen as his medium the unembellished language of everyday life. Even at the *kxóro* there are no high-flown speeches: it is just "chatty" and homely language throughout.

3. *Thšukudu* (by E. K. K. Matlala). This play is an experiment the value of which is difficult to gauge. It is a play in verse—a tragedy based on the story of Samson and Delila. The gods of the Matlala people are the *badimo*, and they send *Thšukudu* (their Samson) to save the *Ba-xa-Matlala* from the Matebele of Laka (the equivalent of the Philistines) who continually make raids upon them and take away their cattle. The Delila of this story is Selomi, who finds out Thšukudu's secret and betrays him to her people, the Matebele. In fact, from beginning to end, the events of this story are as close a parallel as possible to those of the story of Samson and Delila.

It would be interesting to investigate the history of the relations between the people of Matlala and the Matebele of Laka in order to see if there is any correspondence or similarity in these relations to those which obtained between the Philistines and Samson's people. Whatever the real historical position may be, Matlala has successfully exploited the somewhat unfriendly relations between the Matebele and the people of Matlala for his story. He has succeeded in fitting this story into a purely Sotho setting—except where Thšukudu pulls down the pillar supporting the house in which the Matebele are gathered. This part rather taxes the imagination, for one cannot even picture a building of African architecture that could take in a whole tribe, let alone destroy them by falling on them. The story, however, is a good example of the adaptation of a foreign theme to a Bantu setting.

As a drama, there are several weaknesses, of which the most outstanding one is the fact that the writer does not seem to have the modern stage in mind. Possibly such a play might have passed the test for the earlier type of stage of Elizabethan times. There are long speeches and praise-poems which, in many cases, do not contribute towards the development of the plot. The action too in many cases is such as can only be reported.

The poetry as such is good: some of the praise-poems are the actual praises of the heroes of the *Ba-xa-Matlala* and others. But these latter, like other *dirētō*, are often obscured by allusions whose meaning is not easily understood.

The language, however, is unduly mixed with Southern Sotho, and, to a smaller extent, with Tswana. The orthography is very faulty, especially in the use of diacritic marks and on the question of linking parts of words.

Apparently for metrical reasons Matlala finds it necessary to split even single syllables, as, for instance, where he writes *l'* for *le*, *s'* for *se* or *sa*, *k'* for *ke* or *ka*, etc. This kind of elision can only be justified before a word which begins in a vowel.

4. *Dintšhontšho tsa Bo-Juliuse Kesara*. (A translation of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* by Plaatzje, edited by Lestrade). This is a wartime reprint, slightly revised. The *first* edition was

reviewed in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 12, page 153, by W. M. Eiselen.

C. PROSE

I. FICTION:

1. *Tsiri* (by Moses J. Madiba). In this simple story the writer relates the adventures of Tsiri, a spoilt child who is used to having his own way. The story begins with a detailed account of the bringing-up of Tsiri—how he shirks duties, avoids school, and how his parents allow these bad habits to go unchecked. When Tsiri is old enough to leave home to go to places where he can find work, his experiences are those of the youth who lacks not only the necessary education to help him on, but also the right attitude that comes of a well-disciplined and properly-directed life.

Obviously the writer's purpose in telling this story is to warn parents who are indulgent to their children to the extent of neglecting their duty, namely, that of giving them the necessary discipline and training that is essential if one is to make a living at all in these changing times. In *Tsiri* the writer has given a vivid picture of a man whose whole future is ruined because of lack of schooling and of a sense of duty.

The story is rather dull. It would have been more interesting if there were other characters to contrast with Tsiri and to break the monotonous succession of failures which characterise the whole story of Tsiri's life.

The writer, however, is a master of his language; while he is very simple and straightforward, his expression is not lacking in beauty, and the idioms and proverbial sayings which he so aptly uses lend richness and colour to his style.

2. *Motangtang* (by A. Phalane). In this book the writer sets out to relate a story to the young boys who are growing up in our villages all over and are looking forward to the time when they too will be old enough to go to industrial centres to earn wages. They see young men in their village when they arrive from the towns—they are well dressed and have brought home many fine things; they have had the rare experience of seeing the big towns. These younger folk are so anxious to experience the life of big towns and buy them-

selves fine clothes, that they hardly have the patience to go on with their schooling.

Very gently but explicitly the writer warns these young folk of the danger of neglecting school and running off to the exciting adventures of urban life. This he accomplishes by taking the reader along with him to the city of *Thswane*, there to see Motangtang and his friends in the life they lead. The only distinctive quality about Motangtang, when they leave home, is that he is more diligent in his studies than the others. Because of this quality he never loses his head in the strange surroundings, and he is not, like his friends, caught up in the excitement they find in the bad company of drunkards, loose women, and gangsters. He turns out a better man for his experiences in this city, and proves to be a reliable friend.

The writer does not fail to make his readers aware of the social evils which seem to be growing more and more in these industrial centres. Especially noteworthy is his censure of girls who lead a loose life in the towns and are a menace to unwary country boys who can so easily be swept off their feet in these strange cities, especially when they have not even the right attitude to education and moral values. He stresses the importance of proper home upbringing which, if fortified with the right type of schooling, stands one in good stead when one is exposed to the demoralising influences of the city.

The story closes with the pathetic picture of the three men who sit helplessly in some hidden spot, away from the eyes of the public. There they can only lament their wasted life: they are now a disgrace to society and a burden on their parents. They have paid the price for the excitement of city life. No young boy who sees them in this state would like to share their fate.

The beautiful language in which this story is told is sober enough not to distract the reader, and yet one cannot miss the neat expression and the pleasant style of this writer. Throughout this book there is a high tone and a dignity which, unfortunately, is not a common quality in the works of some of the Northern Sotho writers.

3. *Moëlléwa* (by M. M. Sehlodimela). So far

the books we have noticed in prose fiction have a common theme, namely, the adventures of the country youth when he goes to work-centres. *Moëlléwa*, on the other hand, is a story of country life throughout. One does not, however, breathe the free air of the open country in this story. The writer has chosen the uglier side of this life. His chief character, Moëlléwa, is helplessly lazy; she lives in a filthy house; she can hardly cook a decent meal, appetising enough for even one like her to relish. That she is an accomplished dancer is hardly a redeeming quality. Her mother, too, wanders from beer-drink to beer-drink and never attends to her domestic duties. The Swazi youths who befriend Moëlléwa and eventually marry her are not of a very good class: their very dress, which the writer takes such pains to describe is offensive to good taste. A few characters, such as Nakampe, Moxxadi, and Moëlléwa's parents-in-law, although insignificant enough, are a bit of sunshine in the gloomy atmosphere of this story.

It is not quite clear what the writer means to illustrate by this tale. Apparently he wants to show how impossible it is for a lazy woman to make a success of marriage in Bantu society. Actually he lays greater emphasis on the fact that Moëlléwa just "picked up" a husband, and did not let her parents choose one for her as in the case of her friend Moxxadi.

The tone of the story is not a pleasant one, and the language of the characters is not refined—for instance, Moëlléwa uses very impolite language to Nakampe; and her mother tells her to swear at the *ngaka* who proposes marriage to her.

The writer's language has a marked rhythmic flow and is highly colourful, especially in his prolific use of ideophones. He has made free use of borrowed words such as *divélélvété*, *tai*, *maselepere*, *tuku*, *sekapa*, *baasa*, *misisi*, etc. In some cases the borrowing was unavoidable, but one gets the impression that these words are intended for effect. Venda influence is quite noticeable—cf. *makarapa*, *naase*, etc. As Northern Sotho, his language is dialectal. The orthography is very faulty.

4. *Molato* (by J. I. Serote). The story of this book is much on the same lines as those of

Motangtang and *Tsiri*. Here too the hero, Molato, leaves his country home to go to work. He has the usual reasons for going, viz., to buy himself fine clothes, to relieve his family from poverty, and also because he believes that *xo sepele ke xo bona* (to travel is to see). The writer makes much of the fact that the community from which Molato comes is sharply divided into two sections, heathen and Christian. Molato belongs to the heathen section—which means that he has no education.

His experiences at the various places to which he goes are those of an unsophisticated person trying to find his way among townspeople. His lack of education places him at the mercy of those who wish to exploit him. When he turns to education and religion he does this only to better his economic position. He is unfortunate enough to get into situations which usually land him in prison. He consequently grows to regard the Law as unfair; and so he decides that, since he is always arrested for nothing, he will do something to justify arrest. He thus joins a gang of robbers. Fortunately he soon drops this occupation.

The writer, however, bases Molato's ill-luck on the fact that he has a bad name (*molato* means *guilt*). Thus, although he takes the trouble to draw a clear distinction between the heathen people and the educated Christians, he does not bring out clearly the fact that Molato's lack of education is a handicap.

5. *Mokwena* (by D. P. Moloto). A vivid picture of the tribal life of the Bakwena is gained by reading this book. The writer shows intimate knowledge of the customs and laws of these people, their beliefs, their hunting expeditions, their regard for their chiefs, and their general behaviour. For those who read the story for the sake of the adventure, there is much to thrill them in the life of the hero, Mokwena, and his friend Tawe. Their experiences in the fights of herdboys, in hunting wild animals, and later in the tribal wars, are really thrilling. These great characters are at their best in their task of ruling a people at a time when conspiracy within the tribe is at its worst, and when the duty of maintaining a small kingdom

against threats from greater powers is a task only a great ruler can manage.

The story rings true from the beginning almost to the end. It is the kind of story one might hear from the oldest members of the tribe, who lived their younger days very close to the period depicted. Towards the end, however, the writer allows himself the liberty of turning the story into what is practically a Tswana version of the story in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. But even this new idea¹ is so skilfully made a part of the story of *Mokwena* that one cannot rightly say that the original Sotho story has lost any of its realism.

There are several well-drawn characters who have the features of real people—more particularly they are real Batswana, and their language and doings are what one might expect from the typical Bakwena of to-day. The brave hero, Mokwena, ranks with the heroes of Rafael Sabatini's Romances. His exploits and his valour are almost those of an Achilles; and yet he remains a real human being who has the ordinary human weaknesses, as we see him, for instance, when he meets the Tlókwa girl, Sewagodimo; or when we see him as a fugitive fleeing from his people, who refuse to accept the woman he loves. Tawe too is no less a great character, and much of this greatness lies in his loyalty to Mokwena. Sewagodimo is easily one of the writer's best creations. He says very little about her, and yet in that brief description, particularly in the scene where Mokwena rescues her (probably the most beautiful scene in the story), he has created a character we cannot forget. The loyalty between the two friends, Tawe and Mokwena; the kindness with which Segale is treated and his undying gratitude evidenced in his loyalty to Mokwena; Mokwena's love for Moruti Maledu—all these and many others are aspects which make the story great.

There are certain points which one might question, as for instance, the fate of Sewagodimo. The writer might have made it less pitiable: it seems strange that Mokwena should have given her up so easily, and transferred his love to Tšholoféló. It is also questionable whether the

¹i.e. introducing aspects of *Macbeth* into this story.

London he describes, with its flashing lights, is not an anachronism.

It is a pity that such fine language as that in which this story is told should be marred by numerous typographical errors, as well as by a quite unreliable use of diacritic marks.

6. *Sebogoli sa Ntsoana-Tsatsi* (by C. R. Moikangoa). Of the three separate stories in this book it will be sufficient to discuss only the most important one, namely the story of 'Maphunye'; It occupies two-thirds of the book. In this story the writer attempts to give a picture of the place he calls *Lefatše la Balimo* (the world of the Ancestral Spirits). The picture is painted with much the same materials with which Bunyan's pictures are painted in his *Pilgrim's Progress*. The story gives a vivid account of the writer's idea of heaven, how people live there, their pastimes, occupations, etc. His description of the 7th district, which is intended to represent Hell, is reminiscent of the old scare-stories of hell-fire and brimstone, with its hateful reptiles and filthy pools of stagnant water. The picture of Heaven and Hell as a whole, however, embodies in it the African's belief in his Ancestral Spirits.

From birth the girl 'Maphunye is marked by the Ancestral Spirits as their own, and later on she is called to their world. Her departure to this world, by disappearing into the whirlpool with its traditional snake, is nothing strange in Bantu religious belief. Her meeting, in the world of spirits, with her grandparents, relatives and other friends, is also in keeping with the general beliefs of the Bantu. But the description of this place, *Ntsoana-Tsatsi* (the original home of the Basotho), and the idea of placing it beyond this natural world, are largely the writer's own ideas. 'Maphunye, however, stays in this world for six days, and on the seventh she returns to her people. She returns as a great doctor sent by the *Balimo* to minister to her people, and also to teach them the religion of their forefathers. As a doctor she has been given the healing power of Mohlomi. Her return creates a great upheaval, but the excitement is due to happiness rather than to surprise, for her journey to this world is accepted as naturally as the people of old accepted the

prophets who were sent from heaven. Before the story ends we see 'Maphunye settling down to her great mission of healing the sick and instructing all who come to her to be taught or to hear about this strange world from which she comes.

There is a touch of mysticism in this writer's use of numbers, particularly the number "seven". The *Lefatše la Balimo* is divided into seven districts, each of which is divided into seven wards; there are seven gates; 'Maphunye takes seven days before she returns from this place; when curing the young men who watched by the river they sneeze seven times after seven minutes, etc. etc.

All three stories are told in good Sotho, and should make very entertaining reading.

7. *Lilahloane* (by A. Nqheku). The story is about a little girl, Lilahloane, who has embraced the Roman Catholic religion. For a time she lives with her grandmother, Maria-Louisa, who instructs her in the Catholic faith. Maria-Louisa and Lilahloane are an example of what true Catholics should be: by faithfully carrying out the precepts of their religion they have the strength to face all the difficulties which confront them. Maria-Louisa dies with a song of praise on her lips, and a peace of mind which shows that she is assured of a happy rest in Heaven.

Selepe, Lilahloane's father, is the direct contrast of these good people, Maria-Louisa, Lilahloane and 'Ma-Lilahloane—it would seem as if one who turns away from the Church, as Selepe did, is worse than one who had never been a member of the Church. His insistence on having Lilahloane initiated according to Sotho custom which is against the teachings of the Church, and the methods he adopts in getting Lilahloane married—both these acts are violations of Lilahloane's principles as a member of the Church. Selepe's habit of drinking is also condemned by the writer as one of the evils which are corrupting Basutoland.

One cannot fail to see that the story is told primarily to make the reader aware of the spiritual salvation one gains by becoming a member of the Catholic Church. When Selepe wishes his daughter to marry a certain young man, one of the

objections she raises is that this young man is a member of the *Fora* Church (Protestant) and could not, therefore, be happy with one of a Catholic religion. She goes on to ask her father "*Ke efe kereke e nang le matla a ho pholosa meea ea batho . . . ntle ho e busoang ke Morena Papa ?*" (what church has the power to save the souls of people, other than the one under the direction of the Pope?) Lilahloane's people-in-law are shown up in a very bad light, and only begin to be good after they have turned from their Protestant religion to join the Roman Catholic Church.

This is one of the few works, if not the only one, in Southern Sotho literature that could properly be regarded as invective. Not only does the author attack those he dislikes at every turn, but he also calls them names, e.g. *Liqhenqhane tse ntšo*, *Malaeta a Satane* (Black savages, Hooligans of Satan). Expressions like *sebolu* (rotter), *lebelele* (a wild person or thing), *lekaako* (a silly fool), are strikingly numerous throughout the story. And then, in parthian manner, he makes uncalled-for attacks upon subjects which do not come into the story: there is no good reason why, when describing Tahlo's horse, he should think it a good idea if such a horse were used in rounding up what he calls "Communists of Mapoteng who call themselves *Lekhotla la Bafu*".¹

The story should be quite entertaining since it is told in a lively manner and colourful language which, unfortunately is rather marred by lack of restraint in the use of words. The writer however, is too direct in his attack and too prejudiced in his arguments to convince his readers.

II. HISTORY:

1. *Morena Moshoeshoe Mor'a Mokhachane* (by E. Motsamai Leoatle). Some readers are rather disappointed with this book as a biography of Moshoeshoe. They feel that the writer has failed to give them the intimate story of the great chief's life. They argue that since the book is obviously intended as a biography, the writer should have dwelt on personal aspects rather than on those that they can easily find in history books.

Judging by such criticisms it would seem that the public is still waiting for a life of Moshoeshoe by a writer who can collect his information from the old people rather than by one who has to depend on records in the archives. Since old men like Mokhitli¹ of Marabeng are fast passing away, it is questionable whether after a few years it will still be possible to find any intimate information regarding Moshoeshoe's life. In any case someone will have to attempt an account of Moshoeshoe's life more or less on the lines followed by Mofolo in his account of Chaka.

The present work, however, gives a good picture of Moshoeshoe as a chief, and as the builder of the Basotho nation. Despite his opening remarks the writer seems to have sifted his information carefully, and has produced what appears to be an accurate account of the great chief's reign. But the book does not leave the reader with a more intimate knowledge of Moshoeshoe's life than he had before reading it: one feels that one desires a more intimate account than this. The writer, however, cannot be blamed for having failed to satisfy this desire—he probably felt that he was writing a history rather than a historical romance. If this was the writer's intention, then he has succeeded in giving a lively account of Moshoeshoe.

2. *Ba-xa-Mphahlélé* (by S. M. Mphahlélé and S. M. Phaladi). This book gives a short history of the Mphahlélé people, their origin, tribal wars, their social and religious systems, and their line of rulers up to the present. It is a suitable companion to Ramaila's *Setloxo sa Batau*.

This kind of work should be encouraged, as such histories are in great demand; unless the facts are recorded now there is a danger of their being completely lost. There is much useful information in the traditional history that is passed on from father to son by word of mouth. Much of it gets lost in the course of time, and some of the facts are sometimes misunderstood. It is necessary, therefore, that writers should go as far as possible in collecting their information, so as to check up on their own knowledge of tra-

¹ *Lekhotla la Bafu* (Communists' Party) is a political organisation in Basutoland.

¹ Mokhitli died in 1942. He lived his early boyhood during Moshoeshoe's lifetime.

ditional history as well as to supplement it. One would like to see a more ambitious effort in this direction than the one under discussion. Much more detail is needed, and it is to such accounts that one should be able to turn for explanation of the several allusions in the *dirêth* of the various chiefs and people concerned.

3. *Mebutê* (by C. Hoffmann). In the 117 pages of this book the writer has tried to give a summary history of Europe and Africa, from ancient times to the present. The book is divided into two parts. The first deals with history from its dawn up to about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Excepting the first sections, which deal with the origins of the races of mankind, this whole part is confined to Europe. In the second part the book deals with Southern Africa, from the beginning of its known history up to the time of the first World War.

Obviously in such a small book the writer cannot give more than the barest outline. He has tried to select only the outstanding facts which give one an idea of the period or people he is depicting. For young children who are in their first stages this book is a good introduction to history. Old people too, who have missed their chance of schooling, may find a wealth of information given very simply in this book. At least it gives meaning to names and expressions like *Ba-Gerika*, *Tšwêlê-pele ya Ba-Bašweu*, *Vasco da Gama*, etc., etc., which otherwise have very little meaning to the illiterate.

The writer has tried to Sothoise several European names, and to express in Sotho many ideas and concepts which are foreign to the language. Some of his attempts in this direction are open to criticism. For instance, he departs from the orthodox method of Sothoising names of foreign races; thus he has *Ba-Geremane* instead of *Ma-Geremane* or *Ma-Jeremane*—(used in a slightly different sense from the sense conveyed by *Ma-Toithši*)—*Ba-Thšaina* instead of *Ma-Thšaina*, etc. In these he shows inconsistency by retaining the more or less original spelling, as in the first example, but adopting a purely Northern Sotho spelling in the second example. It is also a question why he does not make use of already existing

names such as *Maphotoketsi* for Portuguese, *Maisimane* for English, etc., as he has done in using *Maburu*. Further, it hardly seems necessary to coin a clumsy word like *se-kwala-kxolê* where the existing word *telefono* is so well known—this coinage might do for *radio*. The same criticism applies to the coinage *se-ngwalêla-kxolê* for *mohala* (S. Sotho) or *thelegramo*. Then also, the writer seems to prefer Afrikaans names for the months to the Sotho ones; e.g. *Maart* instead of *Mopitlwe* (Tswana) or *Oktober* instead of *Mphalane*. His use of the word *Sethšaba* to refer to those of the lower classes or subject races is likely to be confusing to Sotho speakers, who understand this word to mean the people as a whole, including the ruling classes.

On the whole his language is good Northern Sotho, and he has tried to make himself understandable even where he has had to express concepts which are foreign to Sotho.

4. *Ditirafalô tša Merafê ya Batswana* (edited by I. Schapera). This book has already been reviewed in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 14, page 460.

III TRAVEL :

1. *Mokhosi oa Fora* (by H. E. Mabile). In this well-written book the writer gives an interesting account of the experiences of the Basotho who went over to France during the last Great War as members of the South African Native Labour Corps. The story is told in a very lively manner and in language which does much credit to Mabile as a Southern Sotho writer. The story is full of humour. The questions and comments of the soldiers, which are so typical of the Basotho; their arguments on various matters, their complaints about different matters; and, above all, their rather philosophical attitude and resignation under difficulties—all these are really entertaining. In short, the writer has succeeded in taking the reader along with the South African Native Labour Corps on their journey to France, there to see what they saw, experience their excitement and anxiety, and to hear them in their everyday conversation.

As would be expected in an account of this kind, the writer was faced with the difficulty of

finding suitable Sotho equivalents for some of the many ideas he wanted to express. In some cases he has adapted Sotho words, such as *limphi* for *battalions*, *mabotho* for *companies*, etc. In the majority of cases, however, he has used the English words, but with a Sotho translation or explanation in each case—cf. the terms used on the

parade ground. Apparently the writer preferred to keep closely to the language the soldiers actually used rather than attempt to coin Sotho words on his own. The story is full of idiomatic expressions and several quotations from the Bible, all very suitably chosen. Such a book is well worth reading.

ETUDES DE DROIT FONCIER

E. POSSOZ

Nous avons eu l'occasion de lire une très intéressante étude de M. Max Gluckman, dans *African Studies*, de mars 1944, sur le droit foncier indigène.

Le sujet est si important qu'il mérite encore un moment d'attention.

Nous voulons compléter l'article de M. Gluckman par quelques notions destinées à faire ressortir le progrès ethnologique qu'il constitue.

L'auteur base son analyse critique d'abord, dans l'ordre logique tel qu'il nous apparaît, sur cette différence entre notre société et la société africaine, que cette dernière est basée sur la famille, c'est à dire sur un système large de groupements familiaux, groupements de parenté et d'alliance. La fiction de parenté est ensuite portée sur le système politique et dans les groupes politiques.

C'est pourquoi nous disons la société indigène fondée sur la famille politiquement organisée, ou encore sur la famille juridiquement organisée, car la politique est une branche de la science du droit. Aussi appelons-nous peuples claniques tous ceux dont le droit, le *corpus juris*, l'organisation politique et dès lors l'organisation internationale sont basés sur la famille.

M. Gluckman oublie de nous dire comment est fondé le système politique des peuples non claniques, des peuples non familiaux. Et il est intéressant de marquer ici certaines différences :

Nous classerions volontiers parmi les peuples non-claniques : ces peuples antiques ou modernes où l'individu compte déjà plus que la famille ou bien où le groupe familial a été remplacé par un groupement plus artificiel : la caste, la corporation de travail, etc. Dans ces derniers peuples, ou peuples à empire, — puisqu'on désigne sous ce nom les empires antiques — le régime juridique a évolué à partir de la personne du père de famille, à travers un stade plus fictif où ce père est devenu la tête ou le chef plus abstrait, vers un stade juridique où tout chef est devenu une simple autorité

sans plus de devoirs de paternité ou bien s'est abstrait d'une autre manière quelconque. Dans les peuples à empire, la distance du père juridique ou politique à ses enfants ou sujets est devenue plus grande, non seulement à cause de l'accroissement de l'Etat, en nombre d'habitants et en étendue de territoire, mais surtout à cause de la plus grande distance juridique entre le Monarque et les sujets, et à cause de l'affaiblissement du droit de chaque particulier, parmi le grand nombre.

La tendance séparatiste, individualisatrice du droit n'a eu son apogée dans l'histoire, qu'en 1789, lorsque la Convention française a décrété : Tous les Français sont égaux devant la loi ; les privilèges sont abolis.

Jusque là l'esprit analytique n'avait pas entièrement triomphé dans le droit des peuples. Au contraire, comme le dit M. Gluckman, "in Africa kinship groups as wholes and particular kin-peoples have specific rights in a man's "holdings", c'est à dire que l'ensemble formé par les individus et leur groupe familial est resté solide. Il n'y a pas eu besoin de reformer la synthèse du droit global primitif, du droit familial : le séparatisme n'est pas allé à l'extrême, l'analyse juridique et la division des droits n'ont pas été complètes.

Au contraire, les droits sont restés personnels parce que ce sont les relations entre personnes, et entre personnes de même sang, (de même origine, de même substance, ou du moins de même fiction juridique, ou fiction juridico-ontologique,) qui sont restées objets des lois et des droits. Même là où les droits, surtout fonciers, sont devenus des rapports d'une personne avec une chose, ils sont restés féodaux. A toutes les époques de l'histoire et sur tous les sols de la géographie humaine, le droit est resté plus personnel et féodal que réel et égalitaire. Le code Napoléon, issu des idées de Descartes, des Encyclopédistes et de la Révolution française, en disant que les droits réels sont l'usufruit, l'usage, la nue-propriété, etc. avait achevé de séparer la terre avec la famille

pour la donner à l'individu, à l'homme abstrait, et de la lui donner comme un droit absolu et exclusif, mieux que ne l'avait fait le droit romain antique.

La révolution avait supprimé la féodalité pour parvenir à une égalité utopique, jamais réalisée depuis, et supprimé ainsi la hiérarchie, des droits, fiction qui avait remplacé la hiérarchie familiale, fiction qu'on entendit abolir en l'appelant "privilèges".

Après avoir essayé de faire ressortir la différence entre le droit clanique et le droit d'empire, dans cette part du droit qui regarde la politique, il faut encore faire ressortir cette même différence pour ce qui regarde l'étendue des droits eux-mêmes.

Nous savons que le droit Napoléon comme le droit romain antique ont nanti le droit foncier, et le droit de propriété plus général que lui, du caractère exclusif et du caractère absolu. Or, tous les ethnographes nous font observer que les droits ne sont ni exclusifs ni absolus dans les sociétés ou peuples claniques. Non seulement, dans le droit Napoléon et dans le droit romain, le propriétaire individuel a le droit de libre disposition, (*free right of disposal*) mais encore il a le droit d'abus de jouissance (*jus utendi*) ou de non-jouissance (*jus non utendi*), et il possède ce droit indépendamment de toute autre personne au-dessus ou au-dessous de lui, le Législateur excepté.

Dans le société indigène, objet de l'ethnologie juridique, les caractères ainsi définis de la propriété n'existent pas. Et c'est pour cela que M. Gluckman est si bien venu à nous dire que les auteurs récents ont cessé de parler de droit de propriété ou même d'usufruit. Il vante le système de M. Schapera, qui consiste à ne plus nommer le droit chez les peuples claniques, mais à dire chaque fois de façon spéciale que X. a tel droit dans une terre. Pour nous ce système verse dans la casuistique, il manque de doctrine juridique.

Comme le dit M. Gluckman, les ethnologues ont cherché un terme plus neutre que ceux de propriété ou d'usufruit. Et c'est pour cela que nous avons proposé dans les "Eléments de droit coutumier nègre" en 1942, de nommer autrement que propriété le droit fondamental dans les

sociétés claniques. Nous le nommons en français "paternat", en flamand "vaderdom" parce que nous sommes dans des peuples où le droit est familial et où le père de famille possède la plénitude du droit.

En effet, sans cette notion de plénitude du droit et celle corrélative de "sui juris", on ne peut comprendre ni le droit romain ancien, qui fut clanique, ni le droit indigène actuel.

Le terme que nous suggérons a plus d'un avantage. Il a notamment celui, pensons-nous, de répondre à ce que les Allemands appellent "Ganzheitsmethode": toute la situation du droit, lorsqu'il n'est pas encore devenu le droit de propriété à la romaine, y est déjà définie. En effet, lorsque la famille n'est pas encore juridiquement organisée, elle ne peut rester une et solide, si le père de famille n'y a pas tout à dire. Son droit est global, synthétique, entier, mais il reste toujours plein, même lorsqu'il tend à favoriser les siens. Il ne doit sa plénitude qu'à son caractère de bonté paternelle et de justice distributive paternelle et bienfaisante. Le fond de sa personne familiale c'est sa paternité, sa qualité de père. Sa femme l'aime en cette qualité et le nomme ainsi pour définir son droit.

D'autre part, lorsqu'il arrive à cette même épouse de ne pas nommer "père" son mari, elle dit simplement "il, lui" et c'est alors bien la notion de seul, unique mari, maître, possesseur et dès lors de "sui juris", le seul qui se possède lui-même, en même temps qu'il possède autrui.

Dire paternat (*paternatus*) pour propriété, c'est définir ce droit dans un stade où il n'est pas encore entré dans un peuple non-clanique. En effet, c'est dans le peuple qui cesse d'être organisé familialement que l'individu commence à avoir des droits isolés, propres. Propriété ou *eigendom* font plus état de la notion de *sui juris* que de celle de père; le droit s'est alors démocratisé, popularisé. Au contraire, il est resté plus hiérarchique aussi longtemps que l'Etat politique est formé d'une ou de plusieurs familles juridiquement organisées, que ces familles soient réellement communes en sang ou qu'elles le soient fictivement, selon le *jus soli*; alors la personne du père y jouit du droit plein, de la plénitude du droit qui

se divisera dans l'avenir. Avant sa division démocratique, le droit n'est donc qu'un attribut de la paternité, et nous disons donc à bon éscient, un "paternat".

Les divisions abstraites du droit de propriété sont postérieures dans l'histoire du droit.

Dans l'emploi que je fais du terme "paternat", il faut distinguer un sens large, un sens propre et un sens secondaire :

1. Le sens large est celui qui comprend aussi bien le droit du père de famille que celui des siens ; tout droit inte ne au clan, à la famille juridiquement organisé, à l'Etat poli tique primitif y est compris ou sous-entendu. Le paternat s'oppose alors au droit interclanique ou international. Il vise aussi le droit des vivants du clan, de la sippe, ou chez les Zulu, de l'isigodi, ou même de toute la tribu, par opposition au droit des êtres encore invisibles, (ou devenus invisibles, ou régis dans l'invisible et donc fictivement invisibles.)

2. Le sens propre est celui qui définit soit le droit du père de famille dans toute sa plénitude, soit le droit du chef de clan, soit le droit de tous les ayants-droit de père dans l'Etat indigène.

3. Le sens secondaire est celui qui définit le droit des enfants, des puînés, des "alieni juris" de ceux qui sont au droit de quelqu'un et ne sont pas maîtres souverains ou du moins pas maîtres indépendants de leur propre personne, ni de la personne des leurs.

Il me semble que pareille distinction est essentielle dans la société bantoue et que les auteurs appréciés par M. Gluckman ne l'ont pas clairement faite.

Ils ont bien plutôt appuyé sur les différences existant quant à l'objet du droit foncier : lieux de pêche ou de pâture, de chasse ou de cueillette, de culture ou de résidence ou d'élevage. Ils ont distingué ainsi le mode d'usage ; ils ont aussi distingué les modes d'usage de la terre de la distribution de ses produits et récoltes, ou fruits.

Les droits, chez les peuples claniques, doivent selon nous, être surtout distingués, selon les personnes et non pas selon les choses ; ils sont surtout personnels. De là, les confusions faites constamment par divers ethnologues, qui visent toujours les choses possédées et non pas les per-

sonnes qui possèdent, imitant en cela le cede Napoléon.

On peut souvent exprimer en Afrique du Sud comme au Congo, le regret que si peu de juristes soient ethnologues et que les ethnologues soient si peu juristes.

Lorsque M. Gluckman écrit : "in Europe no less than in Africa, the sociologists' task is to describe the rights il se trompe ; c'est la tâche des juristes. Sans doute, le droit est-il, à certain point de vue, l'une des branches de la sociologie générale ; mais il vaut toujours mieux employer le mot propre et scientifique que de laisser le lecteur dans le vague et mal informé. De même dirions-nous qu'il s'agit de "correlate certain types of land tenure with corresponding types of "juridical" structuré" avant de dire qu'il s'agit de les comparer avec des types correspondants de structure sociale. Et ce n'est pas "each social unit" mais bien "each juridical unit" qui peut avoir des droits, selon la terminologie européenne classique.

Il est fort juste de panser avec M. Gluckman que c'est le régime juridique qui façonne la structure sociale : "if rights in land are owned in terms of social structure (et pourquoi, encore une fois, n'est-ce pas le droit qui définit les droits et pourquoi est-ce la science sociale qui doit définir un droit ?) it is the mode of use of land (mode qui est à concevoir comme juridique) which is one of the factors which produces a certain type of social structure". Et certes la nature physique du sol n'y est pas étrangère.

On est heureux de lire sous la plume de M. Wilson une pensée critique de cette sorte : "Everywhere, whether in civilised or in primitive society, the holding of land is 'communal' in the sense that the individual's rights are dependent upon his social relationships, upon his membership of some group with a definite cultural idiom and social organization of its own ; everywhere the holding of land is 'individual' in the sense that particular people have, at any one moment, definite rights to participate in the use and to share the produce of a particular piece of ground".

Mais il faut ajouter que trop peu d'ethnologues se sont rendus compte de la façon dont les droits

claniques des "enfants" s'insèrent dans l'Etat primitif, clan village, etc. Trop d'auteurs opposent simplement ce qui se passe en Europe à ce qui se passe chez les peuples claniques ou familiaux, sans voir que le droit de propriété chez nous est non seulement organisé par l'Etat, législateur, juge et administrateur, mais aussi partagé avec lui, et qu'il possède une grosse part sinon l'ensemble de la richesse nationale: à chaque dévaluation de la monnaie, un Etat moderne dispose de l'avoir de tous les citoyens. Pire est, pour un ethnologue, de ne pas s'apercevoir que parmi les groupes indigènes, il en est un qui forme à proprement parler l'unité politique, l'entité juridique, comme par ex. l'isigodi chez les zulu. Trop d'ethnologues ont pensé que l'Etat indigène était collectiviste, ou du moins collectif, sans penser que d'abord il fallait attribuer à cet Etat tous les caractères de nos Etats modernes et internationaux. Chez nous aussi la vie des soldats appartient à l'Etat; nous aussi nous sommes solidaires devant l'ennemi, en droit et en fait. La solidarité indigène ne diffère tellement de la nôtre que parce que nous commençons par dénier à la société indigène ce que nous nous vantons le plus de posséder: la souveraineté et l'indépendance.

L'idée d'un domaine éminent ou direct oppose à un domaine utile est aussi l'une de celles qu'il ne faut pas perdre de vue lorsqu'on étudie le droit foncier des peuples claniques. Les droits du chef sont certes passés aux mains de l'Etat moderne en ce qui concerne le souverain domaine foncier. Les droits des "enfants" du clan sont devenus plus solides que ceux-là en devenant identiques à la part de domaine utile du père de famille et en devenant des droits de propriété. Chez nos indigènes la distinction entre droit éminent et droit utile n'est sans doute pas poussée aussi loin qu'elle le fut durant le moyen-âge mais il faudrait examiner si en Afrique du Sud ce qui ressemble au domaine direct suit le même régime successoral que ce qui ressemble au domaine utile. Nous croyons que l'un est impartageable et que l'autre est partageable.

L'étude des droits et notamment des droits fonciers chez les peuples claniques doit se faire selon les interactions de diverses séries de notions:

la série des personnes, la série des biens possédés, la série des lieux où ils sont possédés, la série des droits y afférents; oublier l'une de ces séries, ou négliger le sens dans lequel elle agit dans l'ensemble, ne peut que rendre trouble et confuse l'analyse juridique qu'on en fait.

Il ne suffit donc pas de dire avec Mlle. Richards, pour les Babemba de la Rhodesie du Nord ou du Katanga: "Bemba rights to the use of land are part of a reciprocal series of obligations between subject and chief". Il est important néanmoins de considérer le droit foncier comme une part seulement de ces relations personnelles et de les intégrer dans l'ensemble que l'on présente de ces droits et relations personnelles. Il y a bien trop d'auteurs unilatéraux, qui ne voient qu'un côté du problème ou, à force d'analyse, manquent la synthèse la plus indispensable pour rester près des faits.

Il ne s'agit pas seulement non plus d'un "cluster of rights" mais la série des personnes, comme la série des droits doivent être mis en faisceau avec la série des objets ou biens et avec la série des lieux où ils sont possédés.

Ensuite, il est heureux d'entendre M. Gluckman parler d'un "African communal ownership of land", d'une "Structure of African land-tenure law", ou d'une "Study of African land-tenure law", car les ethnographes ont jusqu'ici fait trop de monographies avec l'idée que chaque petit groupement nègre possédait un corpus juris à part, un droit positif distinct de celui de toutes les autres tribus. Il n'y a rien de plus contraire à la loi, à la règle de droit, à la coutume ou à la tradition que les cas d'exception, que les singularités, que les particularités. Il faut toujours, pour découvrir le droit positif des peuples, remonter à un droit commun et même à une manière uniforme de décrire les ensembles distincts. Aussi l'ethnologie juridique est-elle restée à ses débuts à cause de la trop grande fantaisie personnelle des ethnologues.

Prenons l'aspect fondamental du droit et des droits, aspect qui les montre comme des relations entre personnes. Il nous semble que chez les peuples claniques l'ainé juridique possède l'ensemble de ces relations ou droits ou la plénitude du

droit; son puîné possède pareil ensemble mais seulement à partir de lui-même et pour ce qui regarde tous ses puînés à lui, son droit étant possédé même par son aîné; et ainsi de suite, de sorte que le dernier-né ne possède encore rien. M. Holleman à Stellenbosch nous présente ces droits comme concentriques, ce qui constitue une figure géométrique peu correcte car les droits deviennent plus petits en s'éloignant du centre.

Il y a de nombreux peuples africains où le droit foncier tout en répondant encore en partie à ce cadre général des droits claniques, s'en détache cependant en ce sens qu'il est excentrique et qu'il existe un chef des terres à côté du chef politique possédant, pour le reste, la plénitude du droit.

Même là où Mme Green croit constater "the dispersal of rights over many small groups, accord with, and emphasise, the uncentralised and unauthoritarian nature of the society" nous pensons que le droit foncier correspond encore à la forme d'un droit d'aînesse ou de paternité. Il ne suffit donc pas de nous dire quelques différences; une étude sérieuse doit nous montrer comment celles-ci s'enchâssent dans le cadre général du droit clanique. Et c'est ce que fait M. Schapera, du moins quant à une seule règle de droit, en nous laissant entendre par la critique de M. Gluckman : "... rights over land are dispersed among many individuals and small groups, just as among the Ibo. Thus, (in the highly organised Tswana) if a man abandons his holding on land allocated from the chief, the land reverts to his family; if the family dies out, it reverts to his ward; if the ward moves, it reverts to the chief representing the tribe". Nous aurions dit en un mot : la terre retourne au père juridique, plaçant à côté du terme général "paternat", le terme "père juridique" pour dénommer, à côté du droit, le possesseur de ce droit. Et cela permet de différencier de la relation entre personnes quant au droit, relation alors dénommée paternat, la relation entre personnes comme telles, relation envisagée dans celui qui en est maître en droit, "le père juridique", distinct peut-être du père physique.

Tout le monde constate aisément qu'en Afrique tout sol occupé tombe sous les droits successifs de plusieurs personnes et que rarement une

terre ne relève que d'un seul, comme chez nous où le droit foncier surtout tend à être exclusif, sauf le souverain domaine de l'État. C'est encore une règle du droit que les ethnographes ne font pas habituellement ressortir clairement, comme lorsque M. Schapera montre que "in short, we have here a number of social (juridical) personalities and groups who have rights in the land."

Il ne faut donc pas confondre ce concours hiérarchique ou féodal de droits sur une même terre ou un même objet, avec les applications de la théorie des abus des droits, comme le fait M. Gluckman.

(Note: Pour l'étude de l'abus des droits, cf. Von Ihering, La faute en droit privé; Jean Dabin, De l'abus des droits, Revue Générale des Assurances et des responsabilités, 1933 p. 1315; Pirson et De Villé, Taité de la responsabilité civile extra-contractuelle, T.I, n°2 et ss., n°30, pp. 72 à 77; ns 36 à 47; n°434 p. 381 al. 3; Esmein, Trois problèmes de responsabilité civile; Pierre de Harven, Mouvements généraux du droit civil belge contemporain, Bruxelles, Bruylant; De Page, Droit civil, Bruxelles.)

Les limitations d'un droit apportées par le fait d'un concours du droit de plusieurs autres personnes sur la chose possédée, doivent être tenues pour fort différentes des abus consistant à user d'une chose autrement que pour sa destination naturelle et de manière à nuire à autrui.

Notons aussi, en passant, comme le dit M. de Harven (Loc. cit. p. 121) que "dans notre organisation sociale actuelle, c'est la possession qui crée le droit de propriété" alors que selon nous, dans le droit des peuples claniques, c'est la paternité qui le crée; elle crée le droit en faveur de ceux qui bénéficient d'une filiation juridique, de telle sorte que pour les indigènes, allouer un droit à quelqu'un c'est lui attribuer une filiation, fictive tout au moins, c'est commencer à l'appeler : mon fils. Nous ne partageons donc pas l'opinion de M. Gluckman lorsqu'il dit : "these limitations do not mean that African law is based on fundamentally different concepts from European law" mais admet qu'il existe entre les deux lois "a similar encroachment", pour les exemples qu'il donne.

Il sera utile d'étudier pour chaque tribu clanique les modes d'usages du sol ; pour la chasse, la pêche, pour l'eau et l'abreuvoir, pour la pature, pour la culture, pour la résidence, pour le jardinage, pour la récolte, la cueillette, le glanage, la plantation, etc. Mais il ne faudra pas confondre les modes d'user de la terre avec la nature du droit qui lie cette terre à son maître ou à ses maîtres. Ces divers modes d'user ne relèvent pas de la science juridique ; seule la nature du lien constitue le droit.

Par conséquent, s'il est vrai de dire avec M. Gluckman, "our next task is to show why in any tribe the cluster of rights in land is of a particular pattern" et cela parce que l'étude géographique du droit est une branche du plus proche avenir, il est moins vrai de dire "the answer lies in relating the pattern to the tribe's mode of production and social structure", car ici les différences peuvent être variables sans que la nature juridique des droits varie d'autant.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN AN URBAN TOWNSHIP

HILDA KUPER and SELMA KAPLAN

The urban Africans in the Union are a heterogeneous group. They come from many different tribes, are employed in a variety of occupations and show marked differences in their degree of adjustment to the urban milieu. Some of them come as temporary labourers, some as seasonal labourers and others with the intention of spending the rest of their lives in the city. A number of Africans have known only an urban environment.

Africans born and bred in the country have participated in communal organizations such as work parties and tribal ceremonies, but for the African urban-dwellers there are few associations in which they can express themselves as social beings. Yet the African is strongly interested in acting as a member of a group. The stress on the individual is largely the result of impact with Western European economic, political, and religious activities. The main association open to the African is the church. In April 1942 there were more than 500 independent churches distinct from those under European control and having large African congregations. By virtue of the nature of the South African economics and the political set up it is difficult for the African to belong to trade unions or active political parties.

Possibly living in an environment to which they cannot fully belong has led to the development of *Stokfel* and *Mahodisana* societies des-

collected in the course of a survey in Western Native Township undertaken from January to March 1944. We worked on the basis of one house in ten, and investigated 218 houses. Approximately 14 per cent of our sample had no form of savings. Of the remainder, 47 per cent were families with only one form of savings and 37 per cent were families with two or more forms of savings.

These figures must be regarded as approximations. Our informants, in most cases, were women who were either genuinely ignorant of their husband's savings arrangements or suspicious of questions on this matter. A common practice is for the man to have two savings books, e.g., building society and post office, but only one is known to his wife.

The types of savings in Western Native Township and the percentage of families subscribing to them can best be seen from the table below.

Thus, approximately 20 per cent of the sample families belong either to *Stokfel* or *Mahodisana*.

Stokfel and *Mahodisana* may be defined in general terms as mutual benefit or savings societies. They are characterized by (1) the circulation of sums of money among their members and (2) the holding of socials in the form of parties.

Burial Society	Building Society	Insurance	Post Office	Banks	Stokfel Mahodisana	Money in House
65.137 per cent	1.834 per cent	17.889 per cent	9.633 per cent	5.045 per cent	20.183 per cent	3.211 per cent

cribed below. These societies centre largely in the money values of the Western world, but involve more than mere monetary transactions. Money is also invested in relatively impersonal organizations such as banks, building societies, insurance companies, burial societies, and similar units.

The material presented in this paper was

In some cases, more particularly *Mahodisana* societies where membership is small, the parties have by common consent been dispensed with.

We have participated in two *Stokfel* organizations. It is possible that there are slight differences in organization of other *Stokfels*, but from all our information we do not think the variations are great. The existing literature has dealt but

cursorily with Stokfel and Mahodisana organizations.¹

Our data shows that there is sufficient overlap of functions and activities to make a clear dichotomy impossible. But since informants have always made a distinction, and differences in organization and membership do exist, we shall deal with them separately.

Mahodisana is said by reliable informants to be derived from the Sotho *hoda*, meaning "pay", in its causative reciprocal form "make pay back to each other." The word *stokfel* is said to be Afrikaans, but its derivation is unknown to us. Informants who have grown up in the location can remember these societies in operation when they were children. To location residents they are as much a part of location existence as the church organizations to which they belong. That the Stokfel (more particularly) and Mahodisana are today more complex in organization than at their inception, cannot be doubted. It may well be that the need for an alternative to European forms of saving (post office, banks, building societies, etc.) was one of the factors contributing to the origin of Stokfel and Mahodisana. Even today many Africans consider that European forms of saving lack the personal element that is so important to the African and so characteristic of all his dealings under the tribal system. Many Africans are also mistrustful of European forms of saving, the workings of which they do not fully understand.

We found no evidence for Dr. Hellmann's statement that originally the Stokfel was designed to provide a means of disposing of surplus beer cheaply.² We have found that a number of Stokfels operate on a non-liquor basis, and it is possible that the now outmoded tea-party served as a pattern in the development of Stokfel and Mahodisana. The tea-party was in great vogue

at one time. A number of friends banded together, taking it in turn to hold a party. Admission to the party was by entrance fee. Attendance was voluntary and the total proceeds of an afternoon depended entirely on the number of people who chose to support the venture. As people could stay away if they wished, the proceeds of an afternoon tended to vary greatly among the hostesses. This factor no doubt accounts for the disfavour into which the tea-party has fallen.

The term constitution as we understand it would cover details of organization and membership. What informants referred to as a constitution appears to be a signed agreement to pay fixed contributions. This agreement includes a clause stating that an amount at least equal to what he received must be paid back by each member, and that legal action can be taken against a defaulter. Details of organization and membership have become part of Stokfel custom, remembered through their practice, and the spoken word.

In our talks with local inhabitants, people referred to the "Victory Ladies," the "Transvalians," the "Black Lions," the "Double Up 6B's," and other such names. These are the names of the clubs which are the functioning units of the Stokfel society. Each club has a maximum of six members and we have come across cases in which there were only two or three members. The club name is the symbol of its identity and exclusiveness. The local basis of the club is in the homes of its members, each of whom takes it in turn to hold a party at which he (she) receives contributions. The member whose turn it is to hold the party at his house and receive contributions from all the other members is referred to in Stokfel parlance as being "on."

Each club has definite office bearers: a chairman, a vice-chairman and a secretary, elected by the club members. The chairman (or in his absence the vice-chairman) presides over the meetings of his own club. The secretary is largely responsible for the organization behind the Stokfel society. It is his business to see that each of the members in his club gets a turn at being "on." All contributions are collected by him and handed

¹ Ellen Hellmann: The importance of beer brewing in an urban Native yard, in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 50-51.

The Native in the towns, in *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, 1937, p. 411.

E. J. Krige: Social and economic facts revealed in Native family budgets, in *Race Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 6, 1940, p. 101.

Ray Phillips: *The Bantu in the City*, p. 293.

² Ellen Hellmann, in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 50.

over to the receiving member. The duties of book-keeping are also his. Each secretary is also responsible for sending to the secretaries of other clubs printed cards (see end of article) in time to let all their members know whose turn it is to be "on" and where they must go. In some societies secretaries never meet as a recognized body though they are aware of each other's identity and may meet at the house to which they have taken the contribution of their members: in others special meetings of the secretaries are called periodically to discuss plans. A varying number of clubs organized on this basis co-operate, in the sense that the members of each of these clubs agree to make contributions to one another in turn. These "co-operating" clubs constitute the Stokfel society. Each club is an autonomous unit loosely linked to the other clubs in the society and is able to function on its own should it decide to split off from the society.

STOKFEL MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a club is voluntary. The introduction of a new member is made on personal recommendation. Should you desire to join a club you must be vouched for as reliable and honest by a member or some person trusted by a member. When a newly formed club wishes to affiliate to an already existing society, contact must be made with an honesty of purpose vouched for to the various secretaries, who will then discuss the matter with their members. The honesty and reliability of a newly joined member or club is put to the test by seeing that he (she) does not take a turn at being "on" until he (she) has paid contributions regularly to other members.

Membership in the Stokfel may be restricted on the grounds of sex, tribe, or locality. Both men's and women's Stokfels are to be found in the location, although we have no information as to which preponderate. We have not found support for Dr. Hellmann's contention that Stokfels are primarily restricted to women.¹ One informant stated that Stokfels flourished more extensively among the Sotho, where a strong

sense of national solidarity, and very efficient workers were to be found.

The local basis of organization is largely one of convenience. Because of the distance and expense involved, a resident in Western Native Township would not belong to a Stokfel in Orlando. The usual practice is for friends living in close proximity to band together into clubs. Constituent clubs of a society are, however, found in Sophiatown and Newclare, for the presence of an iron fence around the location in no way hinders social intercourse in an environment which is socially and geographically one.

We obtained no information on length of membership in a Stokfel. One man had been a member of the same Stokfel for "more than ten years." The relative stability of the population in the Township would, no doubt, find some reflection in the length of membership. Resignations and removals to other neighbourhoods do occur.

We now come to the financial aspect of Stokfel. The agreement to pay a fixed contribution is signed by each member on his entry into the club, and again when he has been "on." This contribution may be paid either weekly or monthly, depending on whether the Stokfel is organized on a weekly or monthly basis. Contributions vary among the societies from 2s. 6d. per week to £3 per week. In some of the clubs, the fixed contributions paid to own club members are by agreement higher than those paid to members of other clubs in the society. A compulsory entrance fee of 1s. is also levied on members irrespective of whether or not they attend the party. This is collected well in advance by each secretary. It is then handed over to the member whose turn it is to be "on", to enable him to put in supplies for his party.

In addition to the fixed contribution and the entrance fee, a system known as "doubling up" or "balancing" is practised. Instead of giving the member who is "on", say £2, (the arranged sum) you "balance" or "double him up" with another £2. When your turn comes he must give you back the £4 you have tendered him plus, if possible, another £4, and so on in turn, *ad*

¹ Ellen Hellmann, The importance of beer brewing in an urban Native yard, *Bantu Studies*, Vol: 8, p. 50.

infinitum—in theory at least. In practice the African's low income level imposes its own restrictions. If you are not able to "balance" in your turn it is not considered a "disgrace", and you merely give back what you received plus anything extra which you can afford at the time.

The promise to pay what you undertake on joining the Stokfel is in the words of one informant "a solemn duty". Should you find yourself short you must borrow to meet your commitments. Debt incurred in this way has no social stigma attached to it. It is only when you fail to pay altogether "that the opinion of the society turns against you." Gossip travels fast in the locations and once you are "blacklisted" by your own society there is the risk that no other society in the location will accept you as a member. The member who has not been paid and his secretary will make repeated visits to the house of the defaulter, provided he has not moved from the location, in an attempt to coerce him into payment. But the handing over of small sums of money in part settlement of the debt "ties your hands". Although promise to pay is in writing and legal action is possible, we heard of no cases where action has been taken.

A situation known as the "clash" sometimes arises in Stokfel. As a result of "bad organization", two members who may belong either to the same or different clubs of the society are "on" at the same time. For these two members there is the threat of a less profitable turn. Each contributing member's sense of "solemn duty" is greatly strained, for the two contributions have to be paid at once. When one of the two who is "on" is a fellow club member, he or she is paid first. Should he be short he must try and borrow. If he is still unable to pay the second contribution in full he may go to the other person and "explain", promising to pay at an early date.

The financial aspect of the Stokfel calls for complicated book-keeping. This as we have pointed out is the work of the secretary. In the club account book is entered the total amount paid out to, or received from, other clubs.

One club account book shown us included the following rules printed on its inside cover:—

1. Should be use(d) for no other purposes but for the Records shown on the Right hand side.
2. Cash received after the specified date will not be recorded in this book.
3. All members must see that required amount is in time to avoid alterations in this book.
4. This book must be handed over whensoever it is required by the club.
5. This book is closed the following Monday after the show.
6. Success will only be obtained if we all work harmoniously together.
7. Where there's a will there's a way.
8. Fight the good fight with all thy might.

In addition to the club books, private books are kept by some members in which they enter up all the contributions they make. Where a member is illiterate these accounts are kept for him by a trusted friend who can write, or by the secretary himself. The secretary is, as far as we could ascertain, always literate. This factor probably influences his selection. The day that his member is "on" the secretary refers to his book as the money is brought in, to see that the contributions paid out are being returned. It often happens that members make contributions to friends in other societies. The secretary has no account of this transaction.

The party or social is a very marked feature of the Stokfel. A great deal of work is involved for each member in the preparation of it.

The labour is a pleasant and an exciting one. First the coloured cards are printed and two or three sent in good time to each of the secretaries. The entertainment offered is varied. One group proudly invites you to come and be waited on by the "Black Lilies"; another offers you the "soothing charm of the Jazz Rhythm Myths". Whatever the attraction, they all promise you a "Grand" or "Thrilling" tea-party—"Doors open at 1 p.m. Commence at 2 p.m." Some Stokfels herald their opening and closing with a parade of women singing and marching through the streets. The women wear brightly coloured

blouses and skirts, and, preceded by a car with the "leader", their parade is regarded as an "advertisement". The small house, the local basis of the club, is spring-cleaned, food is bought and for those Stokfels in which liquor is sold, ample supplies of beer, "barbaton", or other concoctions are brewed. Where possible brandy is purchased.

The Stokfel system is another sign that prohibition on a colour basis is doomed to failure. Home-brewing and the sale of European liquor are illicit. "Kafir beer" in Johannesburg is obtainable at municipal canteens and can be drunk only on the premises. Limited quantities of European liquor are obtainable by Africans in the locations, who receive permits issued by the magistrate on the recommendation of location superintendents and police; points considered in granting a permit are educational qualifications, a wage minimum, standards of civilization, the condition of the applicant's house, and the manner in which he provides for his wife and children. This permit is sometimes used as a cover where illegal supplies are required. In some cases arrangements are made to sell the liquor separately at the house of a relation or friend nearby, otherwise the danger of a raid is always present.

In liquor-selling Stokfels liquor is for sale from Saturday night onwards. The party proper is held on Sunday. By midday the table is laden with cakes, biscuits, lemonade, sweets, jelly and custards. Large pots of tea are left to brew on the stove. In addition to these items of a respectable middle class tea-party, meat and vegetables are provided for those desiring more substantial fare. The "show" is on. The secretary of the club to which the receiving member belongs sits in a place of honour. For the rest of the afternoon there is a steady flow of people. The secretaries of the various clubs come armed with the contributions of their clubs, members come along to pay their respects, and trusted visitors, provided they pay the entrance fee at the door, are also welcomed. There is a good deal of noise and hilarity. In some of the clubs as each secretary makes his appearance the crowd clap their hands and sing a song specially com-

posed for the purpose: *Imali liyangena* (the money comes in). This song was composed by the Victory Ladies and has now been taken over by some of the other clubs. Where a band is employed, the strident sounds of the latest jazz reach out along the dusty street to greet late-comers and to entertain the curious children who gather outside. The guests gather round the table to eat and drink. "Your own respectability" and the need for making room for others is trusted to set the limit to your capacity for food. At liquor Stokfels the entrance fee, if you want to drink, entitles you to only one drink. After this, you buy at fixed prices any extra drinks you want and can afford. Beer (*utshwala* or *umqombothi*) and other brews, e.g. barbaton, are sold at 6d. a jug. Brandy (the main source of revenue at liquor Stokfels) is sold at 5s. a nip. A bottle of brandy costing 12s. 4d. (prices are, however, not stable) gave a profit of 17s. 8d. In one Stokfel, until very recently, it was customary for all members to be given a free nip. In order to establish their identity it was necessary for the members of each club to go to their party together.

The proceeds of an afternoon vary considerably. In examples given to us the amounts ranged from £25 to £205. The proceeds of the brandy-selling Stokfels are higher than those of the beer-selling Stokfels. The proceeds of a Stokfel run on the lines of an afternoon tea-party are invariably the lowest, since the sole source of income is the contributions and the entrance fees.

MAHODISANA SOCIETIES

Mahodisana and Stokfel cannot be regarded as totally distinct from each other. Mahodisana, however, differs from Stokfel, firstly, in that it is less formally organized. Total membership in a Mahodisana varies from three to as many as 80 and possibly more. The Mahodisana is not divided into loosely linked autonomous units of six members. Each Mahodisana is a distinct functioning unit on its own. Co-operation is within the society with its varying number of members. Each society has its own elected secretary who is responsible for organization and he communicates with his members verbally.

Secondly, the Mahodisana would appear to be primarily a woman's society, with possible distinction on the basis of tribal organization. We heard of no cases where men belonged to Mahodisana. Thirdly, the fixed contributions are on the whole lower, and the amount of money in circulation smaller, than in the Stokfel. Fourthly, distinguishing uniforms are worn in most of the larger Mahodisana societies. This uniform usually consists of a black skirt, and a blouse and a crocheted *kappie* of a contrasting colour. In Stokfel societies, to which both men and women belong uniforms are not as a rule worn. Uniforms are, perhaps, the result of the influence of church societies. Many of the churches encourage their members to wear a distinctive dress. The extent to which membership in a church society forms the basis of membership in some of the non-liquor selling Mahodisana societies was not inquired into.

But Mahodisana overlaps with Stokfel in several respects. Firstly, members are, again, friends living in close proximity. Secondly, in the financial aspect of Mahodisana, fixed contributions are made although there is not necessarily a written agreement to do so. Where the party is held a fixed entrance fee is compulsory. Doubling up or balancing is also practised. Thirdly, it is customary in the larger Mahodisana societies for a party to be held. In some cases liquor may be sold, but this is more usually beer than brandy. It is in the smaller Mahodisana societies, with from three to, say, fifteen members, that the party has been dispensed with. Informants gave as reasons for this fact, "It doesn't pay", or, "I can't be bothered with it." In this case, contributions are paid to the secretary who hands them over to the member whose turn it is to be "on". Where there are only two or three members no secretary is elected. The members are trusted friends who take it in turn to use the pool.¹ In a variant form of Mahodisana in which the party has been dispensed with, an elected secretary is

responsible for banking the contributions of all members over a year. At the end of a year, this sum is withdrawn and each person receives back the exact amount contributed by her over the past year. The advantages of this system are self-evident: the return of the fixed contribution made by each member is guaranteed her.

Stokfel and Mahodisana offer the African a more congenial and better understood form of savings than those on the European pattern. To people untutored in investing money, it appears profitable to pay a few shillings every week and to receive a few pounds at the end of a few months. Actually, the "saving" aspect of the Stokfel or Mahodisana is sometimes more than doubtful. Many African informants were fully aware of this.¹ In one case where we found a club of six members had broken away from a large Stokfel society to operate on its own, the reason given was that there was no advantage to be gained where contributions were high, some members were unable to pay regularly, and there were many people to be paid out. "With just six of us, all reliable, we do feel we are getting something for our money." Other informants gave as their reasons for not joining, or for resigning from the Stokfel or Mahodisana, the heaviness of the demands made upon them without any obvious material benefit. In Stokfel and Mahodisana societies where fixed contributions are not high, and there is less likelihood of defaulters, the purpose of saving is to some extent fulfilled. The payment of small regular sums does not involve great hardship. As one informant explained, "The contribution is not much and I would spend it in any case on nothing. This way I put it away until it is my turn to be on and then I can really buy something with it." The accumulated sums of money are spent on items such as clothes, shoes, or furniture.

But where members owe hire-purchase instalments, and run up debts for groceries which they intend paying when they have their turn, the value of saving in Mahodisana and Stokfel is more than dubious. The fact that members get into debt while making these contributions does

¹ A similar system is to be found among some European factory workers in South Africa. A few friends will organize themselves into a savings club. Each worker will then receive a fixed part of the wages of his fellow workers in turn.

¹ Cf. Hellmann, *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 8, p. 51.

not in any way discredit Mahodisana or Stokfel with some Africans.¹ It is in the large Stokfels and some of the larger Mahodisana societies where fixed contributions are high, doubling up is extensively practised, and people are sometimes forced to default (if they lose their jobs, or fall ill, or have other essential demands made on their slender means) that the function of savings breaks down. Though large sums of money are put into circulation, the actual purchasing power of this money is, in most cases, nil. Once a member has had a turn the demands made on him are particularly heavy, and the greater part of his proceeds must be reserved to meet future commitments. Only where income is sufficient to meet current demands, and this happens very rarely, or when heavy brewing can be resorted to, do members really benefit. In this case it is possible for them to keep their proceeds intact and put them to any use they wish.

How then are we to explain the support given to the larger Stokfels and Mahodisana? A recognised motive underlying the financial transaction of Mahodisana, particularly when balancing is involved, is prestige. "If", says one informant "you play the game by making contributions regularly (especially to friends and acquaintances in societies other than your own), by doubling up as often as you can, by providing good food, and by preparing a big supply of liquor you will be well liked and you will make plenty of money when it is your turn to be "on". "Playing the game" in this sense inevitably gives you a prestige standing in Stokfel circles and even outside them. You are known not only as generous but as reliable. Others are eager not only to support you but to outstrip you in doubling up and making contributions to friends in other societies. The sum of money put into circulation gives little material benefit, but does confer pres-

tige. In a similar search for prestige among the Kwakiutl Indians, men vie with one another under the potlatch system to destroy the greatest number of copper rings and blankets. The greater the quantity of material goods a man can destroy, the greater his prestige status in the community.

In some of the men's Stokfel societies the function of a building society is being taken over. The party is dispensed with, and the avowed purpose of the contributions is to aid members in the purchase of property.

Where the party is held Mahodisana and Stokfel provide a form of regular leisure activity in an environment in which leisure activities are all too few. Both Stokfel and Mahodisana fall into a pattern of recognized weekly activities in Western Native Township. On Monday washing is collected and the Mahodisana societies meet. Tuesday finds the women busy over their wash tubs. On Wednesday Stokfel and Mahodisana take place. On Thursday afternoon women's church societies meet. After a busy morning ironing, the women dressed in the distinctive uniform of their churches, prayer book in hand, are to be seen making their way to church. On Friday washing is delivered and a general preparation, carried over Saturday, is made for Sunday's Mahodisana and Stokfel meetings.

The social aspects of Stokfel and Mahodisana are seen differently through European and African eyes. A respectable middle-class European might condemn the parties as purposeless, wasteful, and drunken orgies. To many African men and women, the party lends colour and interest to an otherwise drab existence. The members dress up and appear at their best. They are no longer a Jim or George, an Elizabeth or Mary constantly at the beck and call of their European employers, or engaged in an endless round of menial tasks. They feel themselves important as individuals in a congenial social milieu.

The extent to which bonds of friendship induced by local proximity are developing emerge from the organization of Stokfel and Mahodisana. How far this bond is replacing the already weakened kinship bond with its obligations of support

¹ In some of the poorer mining districts in England a number of people will band together and pay a small weekly sum into the pool. The express purpose of this form of saving is mail order purchase of such things as blankets and shoes which are normally very large items in a low income group. The privilege of using the pool is decided by lot. The element of chance lends excitement to this form of saving.

and aid cannot be exactly determined. Informants were agreed, however, that Stokfel and Mahodisana members were among the first to be turned to when burial collections were being made; they were also frequently approached to stand guard over dead members on wake nights. In some cases Stokfel and Mahodisana members help to pay the fines when one of their members is arrested for illegal beer brewing. This assistance takes the form of a loan and must be repaid in full.

Something may be said here on the more impersonal savings organizations to which the inhabitants of the Township belong.

BURIAL SOCIETIES

By far the greatest number, approximately 65 per cent of the sample families, belonged to burial societies. The African in the town, more especially the Christianized African, is acutely conscious of the need for "decent burial." The attitude of families forced by dire economic straits to discontinue their membership, is illuminating in this respect. One of the first things they intend doing when conditions are improved is to resume payment of burial society fees. A pauper's grave is to be avoided at all costs.

It has become customary in the towns to make a collection on the death of a family member, from friends, relatives, and neighbours. Where there is no burial society membership this helps to cover funeral expenses. Since names, addresses, and amounts are entered on a special list, it is possible that strict reciprocity is intended.

Membership in a burial society costs as a rule 2s. 6d. a month. This sum, often paid in weekly instalments, ensures a "decent" burial for all members of the family. It might be that the extent to which Africans subscribe to burial societies is an index of their intention to remain permanently in the towns.

Insurance policies (life or endowment) are held by approximately 17 per cent of the sample. Insurance, like the burial society, were matters with which the women were conversant. As one of our informants put it, "insurance and burial societies are the 'affairs of women'". Insurance

and burial society books were always displayed with great pride by the women. More usually the woman is approached by the agent in her home. Once the consent of the husband has been obtained, subscriptions are collected from her by the agent. It was not unusual to find the woman paying both burial society and insurance premiums out of her own earnings. Among the less educated, the glibness and persuasiveness of the agent is often the decisive factor in the choice of company. Some insurance companies and burial societies have not been above suspicion in their dealings with Africans.

What informants often referred to as insurance proved to be savings trust investments. Payments of as little as 6d. a week may be made on the endowment principle for a fixed number of years, or for life. On expiry of the stipulated period or on death the exact amount paid in is returned. This form of insurance appears to be very popular in the location. "Policies" were sometimes taken out for as many as five or six members of one family.

Many Africans do not appreciate the greater attraction in the form of interest or bonuses which the insurance policy proper offers. The middle-class element in the Township is, however, realizing the need for making provision for the education of their children. Endowment policies for young children, either with insurance or trust companies, were not uncommon.

Approximately 9 per cent of the sample families has post office savings accounts, 5 per cent banking accounts, and 1 per cent investments in building societies. It is possible that a greater number of families than our figures indicate invest in these forms of savings. We repeat that our informants were mainly women. Men in some cases do not discuss their savings accounts with women. Only the more well-to-do, relative to location standards, appear to invest in these forms of savings. The post office was recognized as the main savings investment until about four years ago, when there was a rumour that the Government was going to take over all the savings. There was a panic and money was removed. Some men banked with the building societies.

There is again a drift back to the post office. Smaller amounts are more acceptable in post office savings accounts than in banks. The post office procedure is also simpler than that of the banks. These factors might account for the slightly greater popularity of this form of savings over others.

In 3 per cent of the sample families money was saved at home. In some cases it was considered more convenient to do so; in others there was a marked distrust of all forms of organized saving. One informant preferred to bury his money in the ground, another left it in the safe-keeping of a senior paternal relative. Distrust of savings organizations is associated in many cases with a lack of understanding of impersonal organizations.

One middle-aged African was firmly convinced that all savings would be used by the Government

to pay for the war. An explanation of war loans did nothing to shake his conviction.

It is generally assumed that when a person saves he is financially in a position to do so. This is not borne out by our findings in the Township. The possibility that the African, as a member of a low income group, is getting into debt in order to save, cannot be discounted. We have indicated that this occurs in Stokfel and Mahodisana societies. It is also clear that the concept of thrift has been taken over by a number of Africans. The possession of savings must in some small measure bring with it a sense of security in an environment that is otherwise insecure.

To some extent the Stokfel and Mahodisana societies are examples of uneconomic expenditure, and reduce the (already inadequate) income available for essential purchases.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Akokoaso. By W. H. BECKETT. 1944.
London: *Lund, Humphries*, for the London
School of Economics. 96 pp. 8s. 6d.

This village survey, by the Gold Coast's senior agricultural officer, is a valuable publication. In 1932-35 a survey of the economic organization of the village was undertaken, Akokoaso being chosen as a model cocoa-farming village, being neither on a main route nor too remote, neither in an old, overcrowded district nor yet in a very new one.

Its farmers do not concentrate wholly on cocoa as a cash crop. They grow the bulk of their own vegetable foodstuffs, much of them on farms eventually destined for cocoa cropping, since it takes about ten years for the cocoa trees to bear. Most of the food crops are directly consumed by the producing families, and there is normally a considerable surplus which is simply left to rot. However, nearly half of the animal protein consumed in the village (chiefly dried fish) is purchased in the market from outside sources; while most of the rest consists of game or of snails. There are large annual variations in the meat supply.

The village population in May 1933 was 1181; its lands comprise some 38 square miles. Of these only 3 sq. miles are cultivated, although farms already stretch out more than three miles from the village. Yet less than 14 per cent of the area within 3 miles radius, and a negligible proportion of the remaining 16 sq. miles, are cultivated. Farms are small: the average size is under $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Each farmer, however, has on the average 3 farms; and one farmer, through the ownership of more farms and larger farms than his neighbours, owns 95 acres, as compared with an average holding of less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

This inequality rather vitiates the calculations of income and expenditure. Making allowance for the value of food produced and consumed by the family itself, average family income reaches what one must consider a remarkably high figure of £30 14s. 6d. per annum. As expenditure on

food, clothing, housing, tools, school-fees, religion and taxation (including an allowance for food produced and consumed by the farmer and his family) only amount to £19 10s. 0d. per annum this should provide a comfortable surplus. In point of fact, it is converted into a deficit by the enormous debt burden of £11 10s. 0d. per family per annum.

It is hardly surprising, then, that 16 of Mr. Beckett's 96 pages are devoted to a chapter on "Indebtedness", while much of the next 10 pages on "The Village Cash Account" are also devoted to the same theme. One reason for the high debt burden is that ruling interest rates are about 50 per cent even for periods of less than a year. Another is due to the fact that the cocoa farmer finds it ruinously easy to obtain loans on such usurious terms—a temptation from which those who have no landed security to offer are free. A third is the immense burden of unproductive public debt, mostly incurred in expensive litigation with neighbouring villages over boundary disputes. These are not due to overcrowding, but to a fear lest gold or diamonds be found on the lands in question, and the concession fees paid to the other village. It is the Gold Coast equivalent of a speculative flutter on the Stock Exchange, participated in by the village, not by the individual!

This is only a very incomplete account of the interesting picture of life in Akokoaso drawn in this book. There are unavoidable gaps. The fact that it is easier to get information about borrowers than about lenders makes it impossible to discover how individuals' total incomes vary from the average. But the main feature of the work is its remarkably complete and clear presentation of a complex picture of village life with a minimum of words and an absence of statistical devices such as would puzzle the unmathematical reader. It is perhaps a pity that Mr. Beckett did not include a copy of his questionnaire, and have a little more to say about his sources and methods of securing information for the benefit of others

who might be stimulated to make similar investigations in African villages.

H. M. ROBERTSON.

The Cape Malays. By I. D. du PLESSIS. 1944. Cape Town: Maskew Miller. 95. pp. 12s. 6d.

That colourful segment of South Africa's Non-European population, the Cape Malays, has long deserved an intensive and scholarly study both on their own and other people's account, and it is to the credit of Dr. I. D. du Plessis, who has for some time interested himself in their welfare, that he has pioneered a work that will merit the approbation of a goodly number of readers here and elsewhere. This indeed, is the first major work of its kind to be published in the Union, detailing from diverse angles Cape Malay life and lore since the earliest days. Although incomplete in parts he has, however, laid a foundation on which future historians of Cape Islam can build.

None the less, in spite of Dr. du Plessis' endeavour to portray the past and the present of the Cape Malay in as authentic a manner as possible, it is unfortunate that several errors of fact have crept into his volume. It was not, for instance, Hadji Shah Mohammed Ali who erected the mausoleum over Sheikh or Sjech Yussuf's supposed last resting place at Faure, but a Cape Town Indian merchant, the late Hadji Suleiman Shah Mohammed (p. 6). Also *Zakāt*, a religious tax, should be read instead of *Zaka* (p. 11).

A point that still needs to be further elucidated is where Sheikh Yussuf, the founder of Islam at the Cape and one of the last defenders of Bantamese independence, was finally buried—at the Cape or in Macassar?

Dr. du Plessis maintains that the ancestors of the Cape Malays came from the *Orang Melayu* group, the civilized Malays with a culture, literature, and religion of their own. Can one accept his declaration? In *Bantu Studies* (March, 1934, pp. 95-97) the present writer attempted to prove that the Cape Malays were generally known at the Cape during the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries as *Bugis*, *Bougies* or *Bugunese*, who were particularly addicted to the homicidal mania known as "running amuck"—a similar trait of activity which was, too, noticed among the early Cape Malays by Sparrman, Percival and other European observers. Incidentally, Sheikh Yussuf himself hailed from the northern portion of the island of Celebes, of which the south-western limb was inhabited by *Bugis*.

What perhaps may have added more to the value of his book would have been a fuller treatment by Dr. du Plessis of the communal activities of the Cape Malays during the nineteenth century. One is not given, for example, data about the part they played in the economic sphere, especially as skilled labourers, or in the emancipation of the slaves, or in the then newly founded parliamentary or municipal institutions at the Cape. It is not generally realised that the Cape Malay voter, as the most intelligent of the Non-Europeans, was much sought after in the political arena during the last century. Here is an instance: The *Grahamstown Journal* of 27 October 1873, referred to a local election where "Arabic cards, or cards with Arabic words, were circulating calling on true believers to 'stem voor Miller.'"

Dr. du Plessis could also have emphasized at greater length the radical changes in the spiritual life of the Cape Malays initiated by the Pan-Islamic-minded Turks some eighty years ago. Until lately the Porte's influence on the Muslim world here was more strong than most folk imagine.

Coming down to our own times, Dr. du Plessis omits to dwell in a satisfactory way on recent developments in the religiosity of the Cape Malays such as the appointment by the Pact Government in the middle 1920's of a Chief Priest of their community, mainly as a result of the pressure exerted by an important body, the Cape Malay Association, of whom no mention, by the way, is made in his volume, or their participation in the historically significant General Islamic Congress on the Caliphate Question held in Cairo in May 1926 under the presidency of the Rec... of Al-Azhar. This Congress was organized as a con-

sequence of the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate by the Kemalist Turks on March 3, 1924.

It is, indeed, a pity that Dr. du Plessis did not pen a few lines on the literary efforts of the Cape Malays (admittedly rather meagre until now), particularly in respect of those few brochures dealing with Qur-ānic topics written in Cape Malay-Afrikaans. One misses, also, a reference in his bibliography to the scholarly articles of Prof. J. L. M. Franken (of the University of Stellenbosch) on the philology and history of Cape Malay speech.

These criticisms apart, his volume, at any rate, cannot be so lightly thrown aside, for it contains much that is new and fascinating to the reader. He certainly follows in the wake of Lady Duff-Gordon, Maximilian Kollisch and J. S. Mayson in presenting the Cape Malay in as sympathetic a light as possible.

A pleasing feature of his book are the illustrations, especially those executed by Angas.

S. A. ROCHLIN.

Downing Street and the Colonies. 1942. London: *Allen and Unwin*. 100 pp. 2s.

There are eight British Crown Colonies or Protectorates in Africa, so that the subject matter of this Report is of special interest to university students of South Africa whose country, as an indivisible part of Africa, is bound up with the continental future.

The shaking experiences of the war and the defined principles for which the United Nations are expending their resources today are throwing a flood of light across the administrations of countries peopled by backward races; expanding the gropings of earlier constructive thought and extending in principle and in aim the scope of earlier reforms.

This report, which was prepared for the Fabian Colonial Bureau, discusses what amendments should be made to the existing form of Crown Colony administration in order (a) to present colonial affairs in greater authentic detail to the metropolitan parliament; (b) to associate such expanded presentation with more direct information by representatives of the colonies

themselves and (c) to associate the colonial peoples with their own local government under widened opportunities.

These issues are not new. Prior to the war, Secretaries of State had introduced various reforms, but these hardly bore the stamp of a resolute forward policy. It could be said that the core of the Colonial Service remained spastic.

Arguments—many of them cogent ones—for and against what might appear to the uninstructed observer to be clear and desirable reforms, are reviewed in this book which, after sifting and analysing, advances what must be ranked as logical and thoughtful proposals.

In dealing with the existing Unified Colonial Service, the book omits inclusion of the Colonial Railway, Port and Marine Services. These comprise the largest departmental capitalization; employ the greatest number of trained Native personnel, and earn the biggest departmental revenues (excepting Customs). No review of colonial administration is complete without reference to these departments which already form a unified colonial transport system, officers thereof being liable for transfer between colonies. The title should be officially recognized.

A proposal that re-organization is needed in the colonies themselves to lessen correspondence between the technical departments and the colonial secretariat has everything to recommend it. Possibly some form of directional committees for suitably grouped departments would be effective, such committees to have power of decision except where the Governor's imprimatur is essential.

Principal recommendations in the report fall under three heads:—

(a) that—as basic policy and aims for the Crown Colonies must remain the responsibility of the metropolitan country—there should be formed in London a parliamentary standing committee for colonial affairs which would be active in informing itself in every way on colonial issues—a sort of parliamentary *Mr. Walker wants to know*.

(b) that some form of competitive examination should form the basis of selection for the Colonial Service rather than, as now, selection by oral interview; the latter method being susceptible to

over-emphasis on the social background of candidates—in plain words that snobbery can creep in. The former objection to competitive examination in recruiting for African colonies was that climatic conditions were so bad that recruits were hard to come by anyway. This is exploded today when “the White man’s grave” is seen to have been dug in days when the malarial biology of the anopheles mosquito was unknown, and alcohol in generous quantity was held to be both specific and prophylactic for all tropical ailments. The old couplet

*O beware and take care of the Bight of Benin,
Where few come out though many go in*

is no real bogey today.

The suggestion that universities other than those of Oxford and Cambridge should be recognized in recruiting for the colonial administration is overdue. Such would no doubt be ready and willing to include a course on colonial administration, economics and languages.

{c) that the clamant issue of what is described as “opening the doors to the colonial people” be a major consideration. It is recognized that the day is past when it could truthfully be said that “Natives” were either impossible to educate or insufficiently reliable when educated to carry responsibility. Visual and expanding proof to the contrary is now before the world and cannot be gainsaid. The report comments that while the training and absorption of Native youths in the colonial technical services has already reached large proportions—many, now adult, holding responsible posts—a similar policy in the administrative service has lagged behind. Recommendations are made that wider scholarship facilities should be provided. The interesting suggestion is made that in Africa, an “intermediate” administrative grade might be introduced pending an intensified build-up of African higher education.

There can be few activities which offer to young men greater professional scope and adventure, or more attractive conditions of employment

than the British Colonial Service, whose tradition it is that it relies implicitly upon the integrity and good faith of its members. Young men from the Dominions should participate to a far greater extent than has been the case so far.

G. V. O. BULKELEY.

Swazi-gebruike vanaf Geboorte tot Huwelik
deur D. ZIERVOGEL. 1944. Universiteit
van Pretoria: *Departement van Bantoetale en
Volkekunde*, bl. 62. 5s.

This brief study of Swazi life based on that of the Dlamini clan, is presented in Swazi text and Afrikaans translation; the method of textual collection employed by A. C. Myburgh in his *Ezakwazulu* being used in this. The material thus serves the dual purpose of an ethnographic study and a linguistic one. Ziervogel has prefaced his texts with a few pages of phonological and grammatical notes on the Swazi language.

In the orthography, that used for Zulu has been modified for the special requirements of Swazi, but it is a pity that *hh* (used for “voiced *h*” in Zulu) should here be used for the equivalent of phonetic *x*. Sound-shiftings and nasal combinations have been compared with the Zulu, making a useful comparative study.

The grammatical outline reveals some interesting phenomena. Swazi, for instance, employs “substitution of *e*” where Zulu employs coalescence in possessive and other formations. A few points might be referred to in connection with the grammar. *Unafuni* and *ninafuni* are not the negatives of *funa* and *funani*! they are merely the negative subjunctives used imperatively. The compound verb forms given are of sufficient interest to deserve a much more detailed description. In fact Swazi grammar, as a whole, should be recorded in a detailed manner, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Ziervogel will see his way clear to doing this before long.

The texts present valuable linguistic material, and there is here also much of value to the ethnologist.

C.M.D.

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